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AMARAVATI SCULPTURES IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M.A.

Curator, Archaeological Section, Madras Museum (1935–1946).

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Curator, Archaeological Section, Madras Museum.

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TO

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VIDYĀVĀCASPATI

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S.,

f Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras (Retired),

ork is dedicad as a mark of profound respect and devotion
by his student

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

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FOREWORD

Over half a century has elapsed since the sculptures from Amaravati then in the Madras Museum were monographed by Burgess, during which period further specimens have been added while much new light has been thrown upon them by various investigators. In the following paper Mr. Sivaramamurti reviews the whole collection as it now stands from the standpoint of present knowledge, completing the reading of the many inscriptions associated with them, and adding a number of new identifications as well as correcting some of those previously suggested. Efforts to obtain a set of photographs of the important collection of Amaravati sculpture in the British Museum, so that these could be fully reviewed at the same time, unfortunately failed; but he has included notes on the sculptures there and elsewhere whenever he was in a position to know that they supplemented the Madras collection in any important particular. Among his corrections of inscription readings, that of inscription No. 3 (I B., 1) on the very early sculpture No. I B., 1 brings to light the fact that in the second century B.C. the sculptors of Amaravati sometimes followed the practice habitually followed by the sculptors of Bharhut a little earlier, of inscribing figures representing particular yakshas with their names.

The sculptures that belonged or were added to the collection in the time of Dr. Burgess were mounted without his guidance in a manner that fails to group many of them according to any definite system. Those subsequently received were mounted in a small adjoining room—now the Jain gallery—where they could not be properly seen. They were taken down in 1927 under the supervision of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, then in charge of the archaeological section of the Museum, and were arranged in their present positions in the same room as the other sculptures, where additional exhibition space was made available by the blocking of some of the numerous doorways. In connection with this Mr. Ramachandran made a careful study of the collection and, though the arrangement in accordance with classification of the sculptures already in that room was too big an undertaking to be attempted, he fitted the additional ones in among them in a way that considerably improved the grouping. In addition to the sculptures previously exhibited, some that had long been lying in a store-room were selected and brought for exhibition and it is possible that a few of these may have been from other localities in the neighbourhood of Amaravati as one was found to be a small specimen that had already been figured from Jaggayyapeta.

Having other work in hand that had to be finished and prepared for the press, Mr. Ramachandran was unable to complete his work on these sculptures, concerning which he only published a short paper on a single pillar (see bibliography, T. N. Ramachandran, 1) before he left the Madras Museum for a post in the Archaeological Survey, when he passed on his copious notes to his successor, Mr. Sivaramamurti. He too was unable at that time to devote himself fully to work on this subject for the building of a new gallery made possible the still more urgent extension and complete re-arrangement of the Museum collection of Hindu stone sculptures which had to be finished first, with the result that his paper could not be sent to the press till after my retirement from the post of Superintendent of the Museum.

His paper is much more than a descriptive catalogue of the sculptures. Such antiquities can only be rightly understood when viewed against the background of the culture from which they sprang. He has therefore been careful to discuss not only their art but also their iconography and symbolism, which he very properly treats in its relationship to the ancient Indian culture out of which Buddhism and Jainism and, more directly, modern Hinduism have alike sprung. In this connection he makes a suggestive contribution to the problem of the origin of the indigenous form of Buddha image. He has also treated the sculptures as the illustrations of contemporary life and legends that they clearly are, relating episodes and articles shown in them to the passages and names found in Sanskrit and Pali literature. And he has given an interesting historical introduction which includes a general account of ancient Amaravati and the history of the Satavahana (Andhra) kingdom, of the formation of different schools of Buddhism, and of the nature and origin of stupas, as well as of the four distinct periods that have to be recognized in Amaravati sculpture and the unfortunate recent history of the Amaravati stupa. His skill as an artist has enabled him to illustrate most effectively what he has found out about Indian dress, furniture, houses, etc., of about 2,000 years ago and the characteristics of different early schools of Indian art from the Sunga sculpture at Bharhut to the Chalukyan and Pallava sculpture of early medieval times.

The order in which the sculptures are described in the catalogue, and illustrated in the plates, is based primarily on the four different periods to which they belong, so that the differences between these periods may readily be recognized, and secondarily on the scenes which they illustrate and in some instances the part of the stupa or its rail to which they belonged.

F. H. GRAVELY.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Since the publication of " The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta " by Burgess in 1887, excavations by Rae have added a number of sculptures to the already rich collection in the Madras Museum. Great scholars such as Foucher, Coomaraswamy, Vogel and Dubreuil have written discussing problems concerning the Amaravati stupa and have identified some of the scenes in the sculptures, Bacchofer, Mlle. Linossier, Rene Grousset, Ramachandran, and Barnet Kempers have identified other scenes. Mr. Ramachandran's paper on two labelled early scenes on a pillar from Amaravati has definitely brought early Amaravati and Bharhut together. Hultzsch and Burgess edited the Amaravati inscriptions and later Franke corrected their readings. Many inscriptions of the old collection that remained unpublished and those on the slabs dug out later and brought to the Museum were edited by Chanda. But many scenes still remained to be identified, some inscriptions still unread and some uncorrected.

In 1914 it was proposed that Mr. Natesa Ayyar, personal assistant to Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, should prepare a catalogue of the Amaravati sculptures, but this was not done. Years later, Mr. T. N. Ramachandran who began the work wrote a valuable paper on the Amaravati stupa and its sculptures in the Telugu encyclopaedia " *Andhravijnanasarvasvamu* ". This and Mr. Somasekhara Sarma's paper on the same subject are the only authoritative accounts of the stupa in the language of the area whence these splendid sculptures were obtained. In the course of his descriptive account Mr. Ramachandran also noted his identification of some of the carved scenes. On his appointment as Assistant Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey he handed over to me his notes describing a large part of the collection. But I had then to spend most of my time touring in the various districts collecting typical medieval sculptures for the Hindu sculpture galleries which were being rearranged. I utilized such time as I could get between these tours and my usual routine work for the study of the Amaravati sculptures. This was greatly facilitated by Dr Gravely's constant presence in the New Archaeological Extension, planning and supervising the arrangement of the sculptures, which gave me time now and again to attend to this work. I described the sculptures over again in the light of my identifications and completed the catalogue. The identifications of the scenes by different scholars and by Mr. Ramachandran are noted in their respective places.

I was so charmed with the sculptures that soon after I began the work, I desired to give an exhaustive account of Satavahana civilization and culture by a study of the sculptures with suitable sketches. I therefore set about selecting and sketching from the original carvings, and in a few very important cases, from photos of those now in the British Museum. Early Sanskrit and Pali literature help us greatly in understanding the significance of the various aspects of life in Ancient India. And as Dr. Gravely, then Superintendent of the Museum, heartily approved the idea of my discussing the culture, art, and life of the Satavahana period as revealed in the sculptures with the help of literary references, I have with their aid only humbly followed the footsteps of great scholars like Cunningham and Rajendralal Mitra who were saturated in Sanskrit culture.

From the beginning I received the warmest encouragement from Dr. Gravely but for whose kind advice and guidance this work could not have been accomplished in its present form. Professor Dubrueil's excellent picture of the stupa is reproduced with his permission, and three pictures that I sketched at Nagarjunakonda are reproduced with the permission of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology in India : I know not how to express my gratitude to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, my archaeological guru, whose generous call to me to take up this work accounts for my handling this subject, and to Dr. Gravely under whose benevolent care I have learnt to study the subject of sculpture in a scientific way. In spite of very heavy work he snatched the time to edit the manuscript on the eve of his retirement, for which I shall be ever grateful. Such portions as he could not finish in Madras he read at Kodaikanal soon after his retirement and made the manuscript ready for the press. His numerous suggestions and improvements have heightened whatever value this book might possess. The table appended to the section on the Art Periods of Amaravati is one of the very useful additions suggested by Dr. Gravely. The arrangement of the catalogue according to periods and subjects which assures the book permanent utility even when the gallery is rearranged at some future date is also according to his suggestion.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.

AMARAVATI SCULPTURES IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMARAVATI STUPA

Colonel Colin Mackenzie of the Trigonometrical Survey discovered in 1797 the remains of the ancient stupa of Amaravati, the mound known as Dipaldinne or hillock of lamps on the Southern bank of the Krishna river in Guntur district. The mound was then being dug up on the orders of the Zamindar of Chintapalle, Raja Vasu Reddi Nayudu, who had just then shifted his seat from Chintapalle to Amaravati (Amararama) which was one of the five reputed seats of Siva in the Andhra country, Bhimarama, Komararama, Draksharama and Kshirarama being the other four. The Zamindar had invited many from Chintapalle, Penuganchiprolu, Nandigama and Betavolu (Jaggayyapeta) to people his newly established town and helped them liberally for building new houses. And now a vigorous search for building material began. The circular mound cased with bricks of unusual size and exquisitely sculptured marble was unfortunately reported to the Zamindar, who, suspecting hidden treasure in it, ordered it to be dug. He was however disappointed in his hopes and the carved slabs were removed to the Amaresvara temple and the tank Sivaganga for building flights of steps. Other slabs were used in Musalman mosques having "first been carefully divested of every carving by rubbing them on harder stones, to prevent, as it is said, any pollution arising to Muhammadan faith from idolatrous substances" (Burgess, 1, p, 15).

Colonel Mackenzie realized the importance of his discovery and revisited Amaravati in 1816, this time with several European assistants, with whom he camped at the place for preparing drawings of the sculptures. He removed a number of slabs to Masulipatam whence seven were sent to the Bengal Asiatic Society's Museum at Calcutta. Four other slabs were sent to Madras and thence to the India Office. Other slabs laid bare by Colonel Mackenzie and his assistants were lost having either been used as building material or burnt into lime by the villagers.

In 1830 Mr. Robertson, Collector of Masulipatam, brought some thirty-three large slabs from Amaravati to beautify the square of a new market-place there called after him. Sir Frederick Adam, the Governor of Madras, was so very much impressed with the importance of the slabs which he saw while on a tour to Masulipatam in 1835 that he ordered them to be sent to Madras to be preserved in the Museum of the Literary Society. Mr. Goldingham, the Acting Collector, handed them over to Dr. Alexander of Masulipatam for safe custody

to be given back to Government when asked for. In 1854 an application was made to get them to the Museum but Dr. Alexander refused to give them up. Later he consented to give all of them except three slabs. The Governor allowed Dr. Alexander to retain these three as a gift of the Government and the rest of the slabs then in his custody were taken to Madras in 1856. These thirty-three in number, remained in the Museum till 1859 when, with the exception of two specimens, they were sent to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and lodged in the India Museum.

Some more marbles in the garden of the late Dr. Alexander were reported by the Collector of Kistna district as worthy of acquisition for the Museum and at the request of Surgeon Major G. Bidie, the Superintendent of the Museum at Madras, the Governor sanctioned the purchase of the marbles from Mrs. Alexander through the agents for the Administrator to the estate of late Dr. Alexander in 1879. These marbles finally came into the hands of Government in 1880 and were sent to Madras by Mr. Burgess in 1882.

In 1845 Sir (then Mr.) Walter Elliot, the Commissioner at Guntur, excavated some sculptures of the Amaravati rail and sent them to the Madras Museum. In 1853 they were placed in the front entry of the Museum till they were ordered to be sent to England later, where they have been carefully arranged along the walls of the main staircase of the British Museum in company with those sent earlier to the India Museum.

In 1876 Mr. Sewell of the Madras Civil Service made excavations at Amaravati obtaining a grant for the purpose. He had no professional assistance and the slabs suffered at the hands of ignorant workmen. In 1881 Mr. Burgess of the Archæological Survey of Madras visited the place and found that no trace of the stupa above the foundations was left, the entire mound having been converted into a huge pit. There were a number of slabs and fragments, 255 in all, including a large number unearthed by Mr. Sewell. Ninety more were discovered by Mr. Burgess and over 170 slabs were packed to be sent to Madras where they arrived two years later. They were lying in the Museum for two years and were finally fixed in one of the halls. This was done without the knowledge of Dr. Burgess and the rail has been reconstructed in the hall without allowing space between cross-bars, thus making the whole look like a wall of cement just showing the carved surface of the slabs, and the rail effect being lost.

In 1890 eleven slabs were sent by the Collector of Kistna and they arrived by boat on the Buckingham Canal. Mr. A. Rea, the Archæological Superintendent, sent by boat from Bezwada to Madras 128 marbles from Amaravati in 1891. Another boat with 52 marbles was despatched a month later. Mr. Rea's excavations in 1905-06 and 1908-09 yielded some more valuable sculptures some of which were sent to the Museum. The bronzes which were excavated in 1908-09 are most interesting specimens of metal images, being the earliest definitely dateable in South India. They are now exhibited in the Buddhist section of the metal images gallery.

The Amaravati sculptures are exhibited in a special hall devoted to Buddhist sculptures from various stupas in the Krishna valley, such as Jaggayyapeta, Ghantasala and Bhattiprolu; but the Amaravati sculptures form the bulk of the collection. They are so arranged that a small part of the long rail is suggested. A series of casing slabs are arranged opposite the inner side of the rail to suggest the perambulatory passage and part of the drum of the stupa, though an intermediate row of miscellaneous sculptures that had to be inserted between for want of space elsewhere makes the arrangement somewhat confusing. Other sculptures are arranged wherever space has been found, many being fixed in the walls and some on platforms. The rail being a tall one, almost reaching the ceiling, the sculptures of the plinth are arranged in the shallow pit beside the rail.

The casing slabs with representations of the stupa give a clear idea of the general arrangement of its parts and of the rail around it; and it is with the help of ideas supplied by these slabs that the various parts have been identified and arranged. The casing slab reproduced as the frontispiece of Burgess's "Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta" is a splendid example both from the view point of the archæologist trying to identify the positions of different types of slab and to reconstruct in thought the great stupa as it originally was, and from that of the student of art to whom it reveals an ocean of sculptural dexterity which acts as stimulant to creative genius. The sculptures on the rail coping, the uprights and the medallions in cross-bars, illustrating various scenes from Buddha's life and the birth stories of the Bodhisattva, together constitute a Buddhist gallery that is the pride of the Madras Museum.

AMARAVATI AND ITS ANTIQUITY.

Amaravati is situated a little over twenty miles from Guntur, and having now dwindled into insignificance is more a village than a town. But once it had its days of glory. The massive embankments of earth and broken brick around Dharanikota, a little to the west of Amaravati, bespeak the remains of ancient walls surrounding the city and the local tradition as given by Colonel Mackenzie is that "the ancient city of Dharanikota is said to have extended 3½ miles in length; on the west to the village Muttiyapalem, and on the east to the small pagoda of Pedantiyamma on the road to Vaikunthapuram. These places are each about 1¾ miles from the centre of Dharanikota. On the south the extent is not precisely known, but it is supposed it did not extend beyond Nakkadevaradinne" (Burgess 1, p. 13). The location of all these places is given in pl. ii in "Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta" and Burgess adds in a footnote that the extent of the city would agree with Hiuen Thsang's circuit of forty *li* for the capital of Maha Andhra, Dhanakataka, which he calls *Tho-na-kie-tse-kia* (*loc. cit.* p. 9). The Tibetan historian Taranatha refers to *Dpal-ldan-'bras-spun*) (accumulation of grain) or Dhanyakataka and the great caitya there "in terms which might imply that it has been one of the greatest seats of Buddhism in early times" (*loc. cit.* p. 10).

Dhanakataka, the original name of Amaravati, is found in two of its earliest inscriptions. They are in letters of the Mauryan variety and may be assigned to 200 B.C. The earliest sculptures found at Amaravati are in the primitive style resembling those of Bharhut. The great stupa at Amaravati is called in the inscriptions *mahā-cetiya* and was held in great reverence. The mention by Taranatha of the stupa at Dhanakataka in glowing terms coupled with the tradition that Asoka built 84,000 stupas, over the many divisions he made of the relics that he recovered from the seven stupas he opened, suggest that this was also probably one of the stupas originally built by him. That Asoka propagated his faith in Andhradesa is quite clear. The statement in the Ceylon chronicles about the Dhamma propagation of the emperor has been confirmed by archæological excavations. At and near Sanchi (Cunningham 2. p. 287) found when he opened the topes there, urns with inscriptions in letters of the Mauryan period "of the good man Kassapagotta, the teacher of all the Himalaya region", "of the good man Majjhima" (Davids 1. p. 300). At Sonari (Cunningham 2. pp. 309–318) he found urns with the inscriptions "of the good man Kassapagotta, son of Koti, teacher of all the Himalaya region", "of the good man Majjhima, son of Kodini" and "of the good man Gotiputta, of the Himalaya, successor of Dundubhissara" (Davids 1, p. 300). This is in conformity with literary evidence—Mahavamsa—that Asoka sent Majjhima and Kassapa to the Himalaya region. Of the other missionaries sent out by Asoka to various places Mahadeva was one. He was sent out to Mahishamandala (Geiger, p. 82). The Siddhapura edict of Asoka was obviously intended for those of Mahishamandala who came under the influence of Mahadeva. Mahishamandala later came within the territory of the rulers of the whole of Dakshinapatha, the Satavahanas. And Mahadeva appears to have travelled eastwards too, to Pallavabhogga or Pallavanad, the present Palnad in Guntur district. It is from here that he went to Anuradhapura in Ceylon for the consecration of the Suvannamalaka stupa or the Ruenwali stupa with a large number of monks totalling according to the Mahavamsa "fourteen lacs and sixty thousand from Pallava bhoggo" (Tourner, p. 171)[1]. The number of bhikshus may be an exaggeration like the 84,000 stupas built by Asoka. But the recent discovery of Asokan edicts at Yerragudi in Kurnool district shows the hand of the emperor at work in Andhradesa near Pallavabhogga where Mahadeva undoubtedly had a large congregation of monks, if not one as large as the number in the Mahavamsa would suggest. Amaravati is not far from Palnad and it is obvious that Mahadeva and his monks must have been at work in the Krishna valley about the close of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C.

Dhanakataka rose to great glory as the eastern seat of the Satavahana monarchs, but when exactly it was made so important is not clear. The first suggestion of the Satavahana king as lord of Dhanakata is in the word *Dhanakatasamanehi* in an inscription of Vasishthiputra Pulumavi (Senart, p. 65; Bühler I, p. 110). Pratishthana was the early seat of the Satavahanas but later the town appears to have been destroyed by the Kshaharatas and again

[1] *See* Geiger, p. 194, giving the number as 460,000.

rebuilt and occupied by Pulumavi who was thus lord of Dhanakataka, Navanara or Navanagara the newly built town being the same as Paithan as stated by Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar. Mr. Bakhle (p. 75) has aptly compared this rebuilding to the New Delhi of our own times. Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil (I, p. 40.) says that "when the Kshaharatas occupied the Northern Deccan, the capital of the Satavahanas was probably Dhanakataka on the lower course of the Krishna. The legend that Srikakulam was the capital has no foundation. At the time of Gautamiputra and at the time of Pulumavi it was Dhanakataka that was the capital." Thus Dhanakataka the eastern seat of the Satavahana monarchs which assumed importance during the troublous days when the Kshaharatas attacked the western possessions of the Satavahanas continued to be a town equalled only by Navanara when Pulumavi restored the greatness of Paithan; till finally it resumed its original importance when the Satavahanas lost their western dominions after Yajna Sri and governed only their eastern possessions.

It is not clear when the Satavahanas conquered Andhradesa. Their earliest inscriptions are in Western India. It however seems probable from the identification of Musikanagara made by Dr. Jayaswal and Mr. Banerji (p. 83) with a town somewhere on the river Musa which joins the Krishna near the Nalgonda and Krishna districts that the first Satakarni, contemporary of Kharavela, was lord of territory at least bordering on the Andhra districts if not of the Andhra districts themselves. But it seems probable that Satakarni was lord of all the territory north of Dramila which is separately mentioned by Kharavela as territory subdued, and Vengadam is the traditional northern limit of Dramilam or Tamil land. And Satakarni was a mighty king who performed Rajasuya and ruled an empire. The Jatakas mention Andhra territory as situated beyond the Telavaha river (i, No. 3, p. 12). Dr. Bhandarkar (i, p. 71) accepts the suggestion of Jayaswal (*loc : cit.* p. 71, footnote 8) that the modern Tel or Telagiri is the same as the Telavaha river. Mr. Prabhakara Sastri (1, p. 30) suggests that it is Tulyabhaga a tributary of the Godavari, probably the same as Tel. His other suggestions are that Simukha is the same as Sirika after whom Sirika kolanu (the tank of Sirika) is believed to have existed according to the Sthalapurana of the village Srikakulam the name of which is thus significant (*loc cit*, p. 30); and that the Vishnu deity there known as Andhra Vishnu, Andhra Vallabha and Andhra Nayaka is called after Simukha. These cannot be considered evidence enough to prove any connections of the earliest of the Satavahanas with eastern territory since even if legends are by themselves to be considered Pratishthana is the famous early seat whence the dynasty started its rule (Kathasaritsagara i, 6, 8 and 66).

But by the time of Hala the empire of the Satavahanas included the present eastern Telugu districts as well as their original western territory. Hala's description in the Gathasaptasati "that there was no house equal in prowess and nobility to that of the Satavahanas in all the country where the Godavari rises, flows and falls into the sea "(Prabhakara Sastri 1, p. 29) is confirmed later by Vasishthiputra Pulumavi describing Gautamiputra Satakarni as lord of the oceans. Among his eastern possessions are included the mighty mountain

Mahendra in Kalinga, Sirithana, Sriparvata (probably the Nagarjunakonda area) and the country known as Mulaka which may be identified with Mulikinadu comprising the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Bellary. At Makadoni in Bellary district was found the Satavahana inscription mentioning Satahanahara that led Dr. Sukthankar (p. 153) to locate the original home of the Satavahanas in the Bellary district.

Indelible marks of the rule of the Satavahanas in eastern territory from the time of Pulumavi onwards is found in the inscriptions they have left, besides numerous coins which have been and are being found. Thus at Amaravati there is one inscription each of Vasishthiputra Pulumavi (Burgess 1, p. 100) and Siva Sri (*loc. cit.* p. 61) on the stupa. Yajna Sri, the last of the great kings of the line who ruled eastern and western dominions with great glory, has inscriptions in the west at Nasik and Kanheri, and in the east at Chinna in Krishna district (Lüders Nos. 1146, 1024, 1340). The inscription of Candra Sri at Kodagolu near Pithapuram (*loc. cit.* 1341) is beyond the Godavari and between Mahendra and Sirithana both coming within the eastern territory described as under the overlordship of Gautamiputra Satakarni.

Though the early name Dhanakataka of the eastern seat of the Satavahanas is no more remembered in the neighbourhood there is still preserved the memory of the Satavahana monarchs after whom is named Sattanapalle, *i.e.*, Satavahanapalli, *i.e.*, the village of the Satavahanas, the headquarters of the taluk in which Amaravati is located. In the early Pallava inscription of Sivaskandavarman from Maidavolu (Lüders No. 1205) the territory south of the Krishna is called Andhrapatha in which is Dhannakada, and in another from Hirahadagalli (*loc. cit.* 1200) there is mention of Satahanaratha or Satavahana district. Hiuen Thsang (Beal 2, p. 210) mentions towards the end of his description of Kosala (Dakshina Kosala) of king So-to-pho-ho, Satavahana, who for the sake of Nagarjuna had established a sangharama on a mountain 300 *li* or sixty miles to the south of the country—the famous Nagarjunakonda where the sangharama and the many noble stupas about it have been excavated by Mr. Longhurst. Taranatha mentions the rail around the Amaravati stupa as having been erected by Nagarjuna (Burgess 1, p. 5). And the legend in the Lilavatikatha makes Nagarjuna the minister of the Satavahana king Hala, the author of Gathasaptasati (Kavi, p. 10). These, taken with the tradition preserved in Tibet that Nagarjuna died at the monastery at Sri Parvata which he had established and where he appears to have spent the major part of his life, all go to show that the king should have been present at his eastern seat not far away from his minister (or rather sage adviser) whose personality counted greatly with the king who though of the orthodox Brahmanical faith not merely tolerated but liberally encouraged Buddhism as it was espoused by a great man like Nagarjuna. The renovation of the rail is also mentioned in an inscription and the overseer of the works was venerable Budharakhita. The munificence of the Satavahana kings, as also the great missionary influence of Nagarjuna and his followers among the people of their time, explain the large number of stupas in the

Krishna valley of which the noblest and the most venerated was the one at Amaravati. Here merchants, townfolk, villagers, *aveśanis* [1], perfumers, leather workers, all sorts of men vied with one another and with the monks and nuns in contributing carved slabs for the stupa.

The Caityaka and other Mahasanghika schools collectively known as Andhaka flourished in the Amaravati area. In the account of the different Buddhist schools by Bhavya given by Rockhill he says (1, p. 189) that a parivrajaka by name Mahadeva lived on a mountain with a caitya. It is probable that it is the same as the Mahadeva sent out by Asoka. The caitya at Amaravati was the object of their veneration and in the Manjusrimulakalpa (i. p. 88) the Dhanyakataka caitya is described as enshrining the relics of Buddha himself, *Sri Dhānya-kataka caitye jinadhātudhare bhuvi*. In the Gandavyuha, one of the nine principal scriptures of the Mahayana Buddhists, a grove and vihara of Maladhvajavyuha in the vicinity of Dhanyakara is mentioned as the place where Manjusri stayed and preached to the people of Dhanyakara. If this is the Pubbamahavanaseliya, and the forests to the west the Avaramahavanaseliya with monasteries full of monks on forests-covered hills, as Mr.M. Somasekhara Sarma conjectures in his excellent Telugu paper "Amaravati Stupa" (p, 13, 14)[2], it explains the names of the schools that go by that name. Centrally the Mahacaitya at Dhanyakataka attracted pilgrims from everywhere even from far off Pataliputra. There were many sangharamas for the monks and disciples at Amaravati but when Hiuen Thsang visited these parts many of them were deserted, only twenty still remaining in good condition with about a thousand monks, mostly Mahasanghikas. Even then Dhanyakataka, as in its days of glory, still remained a seat of learning and the Chinese traveller studied here the Abhidhamma. But even in his time the glory of Hinduism was becoming apparent and many a Hindu temple was to be seen in the city when this Chinese pilgrim visited it. And the seeds of decay had already taken root in the Buddhist institutions. As Buddha foresaw and told Ananda, the introduction of nuns into the Buddhist Order cut short the life of the religion itself. With the disappearance of the religion and the extinction of those who taught it the very significance of the ruins of their seats of learning and objects of worship were forgetten; but a faint memory of Buddha and his religion was preserved in names of places like Buddhani; and the hazy legends of the past handed from generation to generation hint at the morals of those who should have lived better. The *lañjadibbās* or courtesans' mounds [3] as every Buddhist mound, covering the ruins of the once great stupas, is now called locally, venerable though they are, are yet tainted by the dark life of their last degenerate worshippers. The life of the Buddhist monks that is portrayed by the great Pallava king Mahendravarman Mattavilasaprahasana) is a specimen of their life at Kanci, a great seat of Buddhism. No

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[1] Avesani is the foreman of a number of artisans.

[2] A picturesque account of the rise and fall of the Amaravati stupa is given in this delightful essay in Telugu.

[3] Cunningham has recorded in one of his reports that Buddhist mounds in North India are also similarly named courtesan's mounds in the local language.

wonder that the religion perished at their hands especially when great and zealous devotees like Appar and gaint intellects like Sankara and Udayana gave the final blow by refuting the highly developed philosophical disquisitions of the Buddhists.

The only structure of tolerably ancient date still intact at Amaravati is the Amaresvara temple. Its antiquity is not known precisely but the existence of an early Eastern Chalukya inscription at Dharanikota and of later inscriptions of the 12th, 14th and 16th centuries of a Kota chief Mahamandalesvara Ketaraja, of Reddis, and of the Vijayanagar emperor Krishnadevaraya respectively among many others in the Amaresvara temple point to an early enough importance of the Hindu shrine as well. But as pointed out by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran (2, p. 44) the Chalukyas "tolerated Buddhism" and did not pull down the stupas, which accounts for their existence alongside Hindu temples. In an inscription (Hultzsch 7, p. 155) of the 12th century A. D. Amaravati is described thus: "There is a city (named) Sri Dhanyakataka, which is superior to the city of the Gods, (and) where (the temple of) Sambhu (Siva) (named) Amaresvara is worshipped by the Lord of Gods (Indra); where the God Buddha, worshipped by the Creator, is quite close (and) where (there is) a very lofty Caitya, well-decorated with various sculptures." And even in the 12th century as Dr. Hultzsch points out there were still followers of the Buddhist faith like the consorts of Keta who made offerings at the Great Caitya. Three Buddhist images of the late medieval period recently removed to the Madras Museum from the Amaresvara temple prove the same thing.

THE SATAVAHANA KINGS

The Amaravati stupa is a glorious monument of the *Sātavāhana* period. The names of two of the kings of the dynasty are actually inscribed on the slabs that once embellished the stupa. The patronage of the royal house has brought into existence beautiful monuments in the Deccan, inscriptions in which, together with their coins, form the main tangible source for the history of the period. Literature assiduously fostered during their reign has also left its own records that supplement the lithic records. But the inscriptions and coins yet known are of only some of the kings. The dynastic lists in the Puranas give the sequence of dynastic succession and names of kings which are otherwise unknown to us from any other source.

Sometimes, as great patrons of art, the Satavahanas have left their name to posterity as at Sanchi were Cunningham found an early inscription of an *aveśani* or the foreman of the artisans of Sri Satakarni who fashioned figures on the marvellous gates that welcome the visitor to the stupa (Cunningham 2, insc. No. 190, p. 264). Sometimes a new musical mode appreciated by a Satavahana monarch of great aesthetic taste was named Satavahani or Andhri. (Gangoly, p. 14-15). The literary atmosphere in the Satavahana court attracted poets from all over the land and great impetus was given to Prakrt literature, one of the kings being himself a composer and compiling a Saptasati. The marriage of this prince

was greeted by the poets with a commemorative poem in Prakrt (Kavi, p. 9). A new book on Grammar, Katantra Vyakarana, was intended for a Satavahana king (Kathasaritsagara i. 7, 13–14). It was possible for a Gunadhya to write the famous Brihatkatha in the appreciative court of a Satavahana, in Paisaci Prakrt, the Prakrt of the Amaravati inscriptions (*loc. cit* i. 8, 2; also Chanda 1. p. 260). And the memory of an aesthetic Satavahana queen lingered centuries after her time when Somadeva mentions her name though her sad end in the embrace of her equally aesthetic husband was recorded by a great contemporary, the author of the classic Kamasutra (p. 149). The greatest teacher of the time and a reputed alchemist, Nagarjuna was a minister and friend of the Satavahana, a fact recorded by Chinese (Beal 2, p. 210) and Tibetan (Walleser, p. 430-431) writers. And all these are historical facts that give us a glimpse of the cultural atmosphere of the period fostered by the Satavahana kings essential for the creation of monuments of such remarkable beauty as the Amaravati stupa.

The Puranas mention thirty Satavahana kings who ruled for nearly 460 years (Pargiter, pp. 71-72). The earliest independent Satavahana king was Simukha. This king must have come to power soon after the weakening of the Mauryas during the reign of Asoka's successors about the end of the third century B.C. The Puranas mention the first king Simukha as having uprooted the last Kanva king and ruled the empire. But the labelled portrait sculptures at Nanaghat of Simukha and Satakarni of the Satavahana family, the latter of whom was the contemporary of Kharavela who lived in the second century B.C., makes it impossible to bring down Simukha to about the end of the first century B.C. to rule after the Kanvas. It is therefore believed that the Andhra who uprooted the Kanvas was a later one.

Simukha was succeeded by his brother Krshna during whose reign was excavated at Nasik a small cave which in the words of Professor Dubreuil (1, p. 14) "seems to be the most ancient of all this group of excavations that are found in this place. An inscription (No. 1144 of Lüder's list, and Ep. Ind. vol. viii, p. 93) tells us that it was caused to be made by an inhabitant of Nasik in the time of Raja Kanha (Krshna) of the Satavahana family. The alphabet of this inscription is analogous to that of Nanaghat and Udayagiri inscriptions."

Krshna's successor was Sri Satakarni the son of Simukha. As pointed out by Dr. Jayaswal (1, p. 259) he is called '*mahān*' 'the great, by the Puranas, and was the greatest of the early Satavahana monarchs. Also he was a contemporary of great kings, Kharavela of Kalinga, Pushyamitra of Magadha, and Demetrius of Bactria. The eastern advance of the Yavanas (Greeks) headed by Demetrius into Sunga territory recorded by the Yugapurana (Dhruva, p. 31), the repulsion of the Yavanas by the grandson of Pushyamitra who was in charge of the Asvamedha horse recorded in the Malavikagnimitra (Act v), and the names

of Satakarni Bahasatimita and Yavana Dimita (i.e., Demetrius) recorded in the Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela prove the contemporaneity of these monarchs in the second century B.C. (Jayaswal and Banerji, p. 84).

Satakarni was a great king, for Kharavela boastfully records as an achievement of his second regnal year the sending of an army westwards to surprise one of his towns, probably near the borders of his empire. Kharavela could perform the Rajasuya sacrifice, could make the Greek king Demetrius retreat to Mathura on hearing of his approach near the Barabar hills at Gaya and could drive his elephants into the Sugangiya palace and make the king of Magadha Bahasatimita bow to him but Satakamni was too mighty for him to tackle. All he could do was to make the Rathikas and Bhojakas, feudatories of Satakarni bow to him. So no wonder Satakarni was able to perform the Asvamedha sacrifice twice.

The mutilated inscription at Nanaghat, where there are the portrait statues of Simukha and Satakarni, records the greatness of Satakarni (Bühler, pp. 60-64). He and his queen Nayanika were champions of Brahmanism. Dr. Bhandarkar has given a glowing account of their sacrificial activities. "They seem to have celebrated no less than twenty sacrifices. Asvamedha was twice performed; so also Gavamayana. Some of the other sacrifices were Agnyadheya, Rajasuya, Aptoryama and so forth. The dakshina or sacrificial fee consisted of villages, karshapanas, ordinary and milch cows, elephants and horses, horse chariots, silver pots, silver ornaments, dresses and so on. The highest number of cows given is 11,000 and of karshapanas 24,000. This was certainly Brahmanism of a most vigorous type" (Bhandarkar 2, pp. 77-78). The resources of the empire can be judged easily by the munificient dakshinas in these sacrifices and, when we remember that it was only ten years that he ruled, his activities seem a marvel.

To his time may be assigned the famous Sivalinga at Gudimallam near Chittoor, though the extent of the Satavahana territory in the east just then is not yet clearly known. But the identification of Mushikanagara mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription (Jayaswal and Banerji, p. 83) as on the banks of Musa river near the Nalgonda and Krishna Districts by Dr. Jayaswal and Mr. Banerji shows that Satakarni's territory extended to the present Andhra districts and in all probability still further south. The adoration in the inscription at Nanaghat shows him to have been a devotee of Samkarshana and Vasudeva the popularity of whose worship about the time is proved by excavations at Besnagar and Nagari. But he was a good and tolerant king whose memory was cherished by his sculptor who years later associated his master's name with and incised it on a gate of the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi.

Satakarni was a king who looked to the prosperity of his kingdom through trade and commerce and in his time, as Periplus has recorded, Kalyan rose to great importance as a port whence trade flowed into Pratishthana and thence to Tagara identified as Ter in the Naldrug district in the Nizam's dominions (Bhandarkar 2, p. 83).

As a patron of art Satakarni was great. It is evident from an inscription that Ananda, the *āveśani* or foreman of the sculptors under Satakarni, was busy carving at Sanchi. This sculptor, famous probably even in his youth when he served under Satakarni, may have been quite an old man when working at Sanchi like the famous Michael Angelo, the greatest European sculptor and painter after renaissance, who worked feverishly with brush and paint in the Vatican with a candle attached to his cap to aid his age-worn sight. The use of the word *āveśani* is significant since *āveśanam* is the word for *śilpa śālā* or hall of artisans, which is clear proof of great sculptural work under royal patronage. The great skill of the workmen is evident from the sculptures in the caves of Western India. At Nanaghat there is a portrait gallery—almost destroyed—of the family of Sri Satakarni with the names of the members noted, the earliest Indian portrait sculptures that we know. At Kondane is a portrait statue fashioned by a sculptor Balaka. pupil of a master called Krshna, a significant name in the days of the Satavahana king Krshna as Burgess (4, p. 9) remarks. At Bhaja, Junnar, Ajanta, Kondane and Pithalkora began the art of the early Satavahana period which later developed at Karle, Nasik, Ajanta and other places and culminated in the best sculptures in Amaravati in the time of Pulumavi.

Mr. Girindra Sekhar Bose takes his stand on Puranic statements to prove that the rule of the Satavahanas began about the end of the first century B.C. and that it continued even in the fifth century A. D. (Bose, pp. 1-131). This would bring Satakarni to about the beginning of the Christian era. The difficulties presented by the Hathigumpha inscription (Jayaswal and Banerji, pp. 73-75) are overcome by him by parodying and by regarding palaeography as worthless as evidence of age, by dismissing Satakarni as probably someone not in the royal line of the Satavahanas and by refusing to see that there is a date in the Nanda era mentioned in the inscription. He thus desires to prove the Puranic statement that the Andhras actually succeeded the Kanvas. But in the very Puranas on which he relies there are significant names which help to establish the contemporaneity of Kharavela of Kalinga and the first Satakarni. The Sunga kings Pushyamitra and Agnimitra were also contemporaries of Satakarni.

The successor of Satakarni was Purnotsanga, probably Purnotsunga, with the "u" in Sunga missed by the scribe. Purnotsunga is *pūrṇam utkrāntah Śungān, i.e.*, one who completely overcame the Sungas. We know from the Malavikagnimitra that the Sungas had scuffles with their neighbours and that the Asvamedha horse was interrupted by the Yavanas near the Sindhu. It is significant that the great grandson of Agnimitra is called Andhraka. He was perhaps made to assume this name as a reminder of his defeat by Purnotsunga. Here the name is really commemorative of victory; not a nickname making fun of the emperors like Mallakarni, Lambodara and Skandhastambhi, as Mr. Bose would have it. It may be noted here that the name Andhraka of the Sunga king is the form accepted by Pargiter (p. 31) who discusses variations in readings like Andhraka, Andhaka, Amdhaka

and Odrukah and concludes that "Andhraka seems most probable". It is possible that Satakarni's son Kumara Satavahana of the Nanaghat inscription may have conquered part of Andhradesa in connection with the Asvamedha and Rajasuya sacrifices of his father or even earlier and commemorated it by whole-heartedly identifying himself and his family with the Andhras and endearing himself to them. A parallel is shown by Dr. Barnett (p. 599) who says that "it should seem that the Satakarnis were originally a tribe living outside the borders of the Andhra country, perhaps on the west of it, who about a generation after Asoka made themselves masters of the Andhradesa and played in it a part like that of the Normans in England." This would thus rule out the first Satakarni being Gautamiputra Satakarni.

The eighth king in the Puranic list of Andhra kings is Apilaka. The recent discovery by Mr. Pandeya Sharma (p. 225) of the coin of Apilaka published by Mr. K. N. Dikshit (p. 94) makes his historicity assured and clears all doubts regarding the spelling of his name as given in the different Puranas.

Kuntala the Satavahana king with beautiful curls, a comely person as his name suggests, was a great patron of arts and letters and is mentioned by Vatsyayana with regard to an unfortunate occurrence in his harem (Kamasutra p. 149). He was the thirteenth king.

The seventeenth king Hala, a great poet and patron of letters, was remembered as Bana puts it as "the composer of an immortal classic work", (Harshacarita, p. 4), the Gathasaptasati, containing some of the finest Prakrt verses, verses that are quoted in all standard works on Sanskrit rhetoric. The Lilavatikatha, a short account of which has been published by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi in the Telugu Monthly "Bharati" (Kavi, pp. 3-13), throws additional light on this king who married a Simhala princess at Bhimesvaram near the confluence of the Saptagodavaram *i.e.* seven Godavari streams at its mouth near Dragsharam in Godavari district. His great minister according to this work was Nagarjuna the famous Buddhist teacher. The Suhrllekha of Nagarjuna could have been intended only for this great literary king who, being a youth of his own age, was more his friend than master and overlord—the same Satavahana friend that Bana mentions in his Harshacarita.

By far the greatest king of the Satavahana dynasty was Gautamiputra Satakarni, the twenty-third in the list, who ruled about the second quarter of the second century A.D. He was *Sātavāhana-kula yaśa patiṭhāpanakara* who restored the glory of the Satavahana race, the king of kings *rājarāja* as he is called in the Nasik inscription recording a gift from his mother Balasiri. His greatness is compared to the mountains Himavan, Meru and Mandara. The empire he ruled was a huge one including as Professor Rapson describes. "the present province of Gujarat, portions of Malwa, Central India, and Berar, the Northern Konkan, and the portion of the Bombay Presidency lying immediately north of Nasik" (p. xxxv). Some of the areas still baffle identification but those taken with his eastern provinces evidently formed a huge territory. His exploits are equally praiseworthy, for it was

he who " crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas: who destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas . . who rooted out the Khakharata family: who restored the glory of the Satavahana race" (*loc. cit.* p. xxxvi-xxxvii). " His banner of victory" was " unconquered" and his capital was " unassailable to his enemies" (Bhagavanlal Indraji, p. 553). " Descended from a " great " succession of ancestors " (*loc. cit.* p. 553) he was possessed of excellent virtues. He was " the depository of Sastras, the asylum of good men; the abode of wealth; the fountain of good manners; the only controller; the only archer; the only hero; the only holy man; equal in valour to Rama, Kesava, Arjuna, Bhimasena; equal in majesty to Nabhaga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayati, Rama and Ambarisha" (*loc. cit.* p. 554). He had amiable qualities and would " make use of (nothing but) the taxes levied according to justice", " never desired to kill an enemy though at fault." (*loc. cit.* p. 553). Being greatly attached to religion " he increased the prosperity of the families of Brahmanas and others and stopped the fusion of the four castes " (*loc. cit.* p. 553), and even in his own case was so very strict as to " well arrange the place and time for the three persuits of life (trivarga) " (*loc. cit.* p. 553). Being of a kindly heart he was " the companion of all the townsmen (his subjects) equal in happiness and in misery " (*loc. cit.* p. 553). Above all, his personality was as towering and imposing as his noble qualities. His " appearance was as beautiful and lovely as the disc of the full moon and his face was like the pure lotus opened by the rays of the sun " (*loc. cit.* p. 553). Such was the greatest king of the dynasty.

Gautamiputra Satakarni was succeeded by Vasishthiputra Pulumavi.

The occurrence of the inscription of Vasishthiputra Pulumavi on one of the slabs from a pillar from the rail-gate of the Amaravati stupa and the tradition recorded by Taranatha that Nagarjuna built the rail around the stupa, taken along with Hieun Thsang's statement about the Satavahana building a sangharama for the great teacher on Sriparvata, probably the present Nagarjunakonda, leave no doubt that he was the contemporary of Pulumavi as well. This must have been about the middle of the second century when Pulumavi is mentioned as ruling from Pratishthana by Ptolemy who wrote sometime between 139 and 161 A. D. Taranatha says that Nagarjuna was the head of the Buddhist Order for over sixty or sixty-two years. If he were a youth in the time of Hala he would have been extremely old, over 90 years old, during the time of Vasishthiputra, commanding greater and greater respect with the advance of years.

The aged monk Nagarjuna was remembered with great respect and awe years after his death, and the large congregation of monks (which included his famous disciple Aryadeva) left by him at the mountain named after him Nagarjunakonda, by its worthy continuance of Nagarjuna's traditions must have also contributed to the continued flourishing state of Buddhism in the neighbourhood. This accounts for the gift of the superintendent of the

paniyaghara or water-house established by Sri Siva,[1] the successor of Pulumavi Vasishthiputra, recorded on one of the coping fragments from Amaravati. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies this Siri Siva, a brother of Pulumavi, with the Vasishthiputra Satakarni, the son-in-law of daman (1, p. 155).

Yajnasri, the twenty-seventh king, is the last of the great kings in the line ruling both eastern and western territory. His inscription recording a grant to a Buddhist monastery is inscribed in an ayaka pillar from Chinna in the Krishna district where once a stupa must have existed and received royal patronage.

In the Nasik inscription of Balasiri dated in the 19th year of Pulumavi Vasishthiputra, Gautamiputra is praised as *ekaśūra* (unrivalled hero), *ekabamhaṇa* (the one real Brahmana) and as one who increased the prosperity of Brahmans and earlier at Nanaghat Satakarni is described as one who had performed a number of noble sacrifices. The number of Hindu remains of this great dynasty of Hindu kings yet discovered are but a few. There is however the famous Sivalinga at Gudimallam that has to be assigned to the time of Sri Satakarni the contemporary of Kharavela from its close affinities to the Bharhut yakshas (Coomaraswamy 1, p. 39). For, in an inscription in the Siva temple in Stanakundura in Talkonda district in Mysore the Sivalinga is mentioned as having been worshipped by the king Satakarni (Rice 1, pp. 9, 200 and 113). The Buddhist remains of the Satavahana period are however, numerous, and they reveal the great catholicity of the Satavahana kings who did not stint in their encouragement of different religions. Thus the Bhadrayaniya sect of the Sthavira school at Nasik and the Mahasanghikas of Karle were given gifts in the west and so were the Cetiya division of the Mahasanghika school in the eastern territory.

SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

Even in the time of Buddha there were squabbles among the monks, but the personality of the Master was such that schisms in the Order could not arise. Sometimes an obstinate monk like Tissa the fat would not recognise his faults even though they were pointed out to him (Dhammapad-atthakatha 1, p. 167). Sometimes the whole congregation misunderstood Buddha's actions as when they thought the Master was showing favouritism when he made Sariputta and Moggallana chief disciples the very day they entered the Order, and it required all his skill to convince them that it was for specific reasons that certain persons attained certain fruits (*loc. cit.* pp. 203-4). Now and again the congregation delighted in drastically punishing a monk by ostracising him and would not relax for all his confessions and entreaties ; and the Master himself had to interfere to set things right. But sometimes these quarrels took a serious turn and Buddha once grew so disgusted that he retired to a forest where an elephant attended on him ; and the monks were brought to their senses

[1] Professor Rapson takes Siri Sivamaka Sada as Siri Siva Satakarni (I, p. xl).

some time later and came back to the Master repenting their action and promising to be unruly no more (*loc. cit.* p. 178). Though monks like Devadatta departed from the Order for good and Buddha had to disown them, the main following was united.

But after Buddha's death there were signs of breaking away from the discipline taught by the Master. This is clearly to be seen in the wicked feeling of relief expressed by the aged Subhadda. And to avoid further spread of this dangerous spirit Mahakassapa called the first Council to make an authoritative compilation of the teachings of Buddha.

Even in the time of the Master he knew and appreciated the capacity of each monk and chose for him such subjects as he could easily grasp. Though they were expected to know all the Pitakas and some were Tipetakins, there were others who in addition specialised in various branches, such as the Suttantikas, Vinayadharas, etc., and others who were not so learned (Datta I, p. 255). There are instances of many old folk who had no time to learn the texts to whom Buddha gave short discourses that opened their eyes end assured them enlightenment. Thus Upali was considered an adept in Vinaya and could recite the whole of it ; and Ananda the rest of the Dhamma. The other theras repeated the text as it was expounded and the Dhamma was recorded by the first Council at Rajagha under the royal patronage of Ajatasattu (Geiger, pp. 14–18).

A century after the death of Buddha some monks of the Vajji clan from Vesali violated ten points of conduct, the most serious of which were acceptance of gold and silver, and drinking palm wine. And they considered the violation lawful. The thera Yasa condemned their conduct and this called for a second Council. Kalasoka was king at the time (*loc. cit.* pp. 19–25). The heretical bhikkhus who held to their violation of the ten points were denounced in the council of theras held at Vesali and the thera Revata who presided compiled the true Dhamma once more.

The ten thousand bhikkhus subdued for the time being in the second Council slowly broke away from the conservative theras and came to be known as the Mahasanghikas because of their great number. The bhikkhu Order was so full of heretics who dressed themselves in orange robes just for gain and honour that Dhammasoka had to call a third Council in Pataliputra to expel them (*loc. cit.* pp. 46–50). The thera Tissa son of Moggali presided and a school of Theravada known as Vibhajjavada triumphed. Asoka favoured Vibhajjavada. He now sent out missionaries for the propagation of Dhamma (*loc. cit.* p. 82). Buddhism flourished under Asoka but when it was later persecuted the Theravadins finally found a refuge in Ceylon.

Many schools arose after the second Council (*loc. cit.* p. 26 ; Rockhill, Chap. vi). The two main divisions were Thera and Mahasanghika. The doctrine of the Theras was known as Theravada and that of the various other schools Acariyavada (Geiger, p. 26 *f.n.* 1) The Theras were conservative and the Mahasanghikas more liberal in their interpretations

of Vinaya and Dhamma. Dr. Bhattacharya has beautifully put it (p. x.) that "those who stuck to Ethics and moral discipline were called Theravadins and those who trifled with Ethics and discipline but stuck to metaphysical and altruistic doctrines were the Mahasanghikas."

The Mahasanghika school had many branches, such as the Gokulika, Ekavyavaharika, Prajnaptivada, Bahusrutiya, Lokottaravada, and Caityka or Cetiyavada school. Regarding the last Dr. Nalinaksha Datta points out: "probably a section of the Mahasanghikas attached great importance to the worship of the stupa or caitya as is to be found in the Mahavastu and got the appellation of Caityika" (Datta 2, p. 648). According to the Tibetan interpretation given by Mr. Rockhill (1, p. 183) "those who live on the Tchaityaka mountain are called the Tchaityikas". The Caityakas made Dhanakataka the most important seat of this school and the Mahacaitya there became the most revered of their objects of adoration. In the inscriptions from Amaravati the stupa is called *Cetikiyānam mahācetiyasa, i.e.,* the great caitya of the Caityakas. The school itself is called *Cetikiyānam nikāya.* The sub-schools that sprang up in this area in the zone of the Caityakas are Pubbaseliya, Avaraseliya, Rajagirika and Siddhatthaka which are collectively called Andhaka (Datta 2, p. 648). To this list of four, the Caityaka school should be added if it is to be counted as a separate one which probably it is not, as it is given as the same as the Pubbaseliya school (Geiger p. 283) and it is doubtful whether Pubba and Avara seliyas had any differences except the *saila* (hill) on which they lived (Datta. 2, p. 648). It is noteworthy that the school of the Mahasanghikas in Andhra territory came to be called Andhaka after the country, which shows how well it flourished there; and excavations in the area prove this in the most emphatic manner through the remains that have been and are being unearthed in the Krishna valley.

The fourth Council of the Buddhists was held at Kundalavana at Kashmir under the presidency of Vasumitra during the reign of Kanishka. The Theravadins were here very feebly represented (Bhattacharya p. x); and the Mahasanghikas wrote a commentary on the Tripitaka. This was copied on sheets of copper after revision by the great poet and Buddhist teacher Asvaghosha and enclosed in stone boxes over which he built a stupa (Rhys Davids 4, p. 653; Beal 2, p. 63). Here for the first time was the small beginning of the sect called Mahayana (Bhattacharya, pp. x & xi). The Mahayanists were not yet a force and it was only in the time of Nagarjuna and Aryadeva, who began the first philosophical speculations and propagated *Śūnyavāda,* that they rose to prominence. In contrast to Mahayana the old conservative schools were called Hinayana. The Sunyavada which propagated nihilism failed to satisfy fully the speculative minds of some of those that came later and Maitreyanatha who came shortly after Nagarjuna taught the Vijnanavada or Yogacara system. Since even this failed to satisfy many, *Mahāsukha* or the element of Bliss was added to the earlier Sunya and Vijnana concepts of Nirvana. Mahasukhavada is the parent of Vajrayana which was responsible for the rich Buddhist pantheon of gods and goddesses.

The three late medieval images from Amaravati representing Simhanada, Padmapani and Buddha Ratnasambhava (with hands in *bhūmispar śamudrā*) are of this last stage of Buddhism with its multiplied pantheon of gods and goddesses.

NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF STUPAS.

THEIR SEPULCHRAL NATURE.

Stupa is derived from the Sanskrit root *stup* to collect and means a heap or mound. It also means a monument held in veneration when it is connected with the root *stu* to praise. In the Buddhist texts the term has been applied to monuments raised generally over the remains of certain distinguished persons. It was ordained by Buddha himself that these stupas might be erected over the ashes of Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas, Buddha's disciples and Cakravartimaharajas (Kern, p. 44; Digha Nikaya ii, p. 156, xvi, 5, 12 Anguttara Nikaya ii. vi, 5, p. 98). We have mention of stupas erected long before Gautama Buddha; and in his time he caused such edifices to be erected over the remains of some of his disciples, such as Putigatta Tissa (Dhammapad-atthakatha ii, p. 21), Sariputra and Maudgalyayana (Jataka v, No. 522, p. 65). And it was not the anchorite class alone of the disciples of Buddha that was shown this honour. For there are stupas mentioned as having been raised by the order of Buddha himself over the bones of lay disciples like the minister of Bimbisara.

The stupa, according to the Buddhist texts, was a well-known monument ages before Gautama Buddha, who knew very well how previous ' Enlightened Ones were honoured by the erection of such memorials over their relics. In the Avadanasataka Gautama Buddha narrates how king Sobhita erected a stupa over the hair and nails of Krakacanda in his capital Sobhavati (Mitra 1, p. 37). There is mention in one of the legends of the Dvavimsavadana of a stupa raised by king Bandhumati over the relics of Buddha Vipassi (*loc. cit.* p. 87). We are told in one of his edicts that Asoka restored the stupa of Buddha Konakamana (Winternitz p. 160). Even in some of his previous births when he was yet preparing himself for becoming the Supremely Enlightened. stupas were erected over his remains. In the Mahakapi Jataka we are told of how the king enshrined the skull of the noble animal in a structure built for the purpose and caused offerings to be made to it (Jataka iii, No. 407, p. 227). Buddha is reported in the Sattvaushadhavadana of Kshemendra's Avadanakalpalata to have foretold how a future king Asoka would erect a memorial over the body of Sattvaushadha (Mitra 1, p. 60.) Some magnanimous persons like the prince in the legend in the Suvarnaprabhasa, who offered himself as food for a hungry tigress, had also stupas erected over their remains (*loc. cit.* p. 248). The stupas occurring in some of the carved Jataka scenes represent such stupas (pl. xlix, fig. 2 b).

Buddha himself told Ananda that stupas might be raised over the remains of Cakravartimaharajas or universal emperors. In one of his previous births he had died as a Cakravartimaharaja in the then magnificent city of Kusavati and a stupa had been erected over

his remains by his sorrowing queens (Jataka i, No. 95, p. 231). In his last existence this had become an obscure city known as Kusinara where he finally attained nirvana. The famous instance of a Cakravartimaharaja is Mandhata.

Pacceka Buddhas also had monuments raised over their relics. In the Attasadda Jataka we are told of a stupa raised over the remains of a Pacceka Buddha where four high roads meet (*loc. cit.* iii, No. 418, p. 260). From the Avadanasataka we learn that Kapphina, king of Dakshinapatha, raised a stupa over a Pratyekabuddha in his previous birth (Mitra 1, p. 38). The erection of these memorials was considered so meritorious that countless stupas were built over the relics of Buddha and his disciples. The Saddharmapundarika says that the erection of stupas, worship of relics, etc. ensure the highest enlightenment. Even children who pile up stupas of sand in sportive mood have their full share of the reward of merit. "Moreover, even those who worship relics, erect stupas, construct any kind of image of Buddha—whether jewelled, marble or wooden statues or frescoes, even children who play making stupas of sand, or scribble figures of Buddha on the wall, those who offer flowers, or perfumes at stupas or make music before them, even those who only by chance have on some occasions thought of the Buddha with the thought 'Honour to the Buddha',—all these will attain to the highest enlightenment" (Winternitz, p. 297). According to the Mahavastu mere walking round the stupa and worshipping it with flowers is enough to ensure nirvana *loc. cit.* p. 214) There are many representations of such adoration of the stupa with garlands, flags, etc., in the Amaravati sculptures. The dwarf yaksha figures with trays on their heads shown on either side of the gateway in most of the caitya slabs were to receive the offerings that devotees brought with them. One of the sculptures in the British Museum shows a Buddhist monk offering a *mushṭi* (a handful) of rice and depositing it in the tray (Fergusson pl. lxxvi & pl. lxxix, fig. 3.)

The stupa is an edifice of great religious importance to the Buddhists. So great is the merit that accrues to one who erects it over any bit of relic of a Buddha that, according to the Mahavamsa, king Gamani the wicked atones for all his callous bloodshed in battle by erecting monuments like the famous Mahathupa.

Stupas not exclusively Buddhist.

This monument, however, is not peculiar to the Buddhists. The stupa was equally important to the Jains. The early stupa sculptures from Mathura are famous Jain examples of this type of monuments which are not different in shape and structure from those of the Buddhists of that age (Smith 1, p. 6, pl. xii & xv). Though in a late work, there is literary evidence for the erection of stupas over the ashes of the Tirthankaras of the Jains; for Bhavadevasuri describes in his Parsvanathacarita the jewelled stupa erected by Sakra over the ashes of Parsvanatha whose corpse was cremated by the gods (Winternitz, p. 514).

Funeral monuments like the stupa were perhaps not unknown among the Hindus. A stupa-like structure distinctly Hindu, as evidenced by sculpture, is mentioned by Mr. Garde (p. 165) as from Pawaya. This is probably a place of worship, similar to a Buddhist uddesika stupa, with richly carved torana gateways. But the line from the Mahabharata *Bhishmeṇa dharmato rājan sarvatah parirakshite babhūva ramaṇīyaśca caityayūpaśatānkitah* (1, 109, 13) taken to prove caityas and stupas is not so explicit or clear so far as the second word *yūpa* goes. How *yūpa* can mean a stupa as is sought to be maintained is rather puzzling, The yupa is here clearly 'the sacrificial post' and the caitya a place of worship like a temple. The *smaśāna caitya* (caitya in tbe burial ground) occurring in the Ramayana (v. 22, 29) should mean a stupa.

STUPA OR CAITYA.

The word *caitya* is of common occurrence in literature and is generally used in the sense of a place of worship. The word is used in Brahmanical works like the Mahabharata and Ramayana in a wider sense, meaning a religious building as well. When it is used in the sense of a religious building it invariably means a place of worship, such as the *vrkshacaitya* (temple for Bodhi tree) of the Buddhists or a *devagṛha* or temple for a deity.

Caitya is used invariably with the word *yūpa* in the Mahabharata (ii, 3, 12 ; i, 1, 227 ; i, 94, 29 ; i, 109, 13). The sense in which the word has to be understood there is a sacrificial shed or building near the *yūpa*. The 'sacred tree' itself is also called a *caitya* in the Mahabharata (ii, 5, 100). It is in this sense (the tree itself and not a building) that the word is commonly understood and literary evidences are not wanting for such usage.

A building, not necessarily a religious one, is meant when this word is used in the Ramayana. There is a classification of caityas given in this epic which is very interesting. Caityas are of two kinds, the ordinary ones and the funerary ones. This, to a great extent, clarifies the rather puzzling usage of caitya and stupa as synonyms.

The great stupa at Amaravati is mentioned in inscriptions as *mahācetiya* (great caitya) The word caitya might have been derived from *citā, i.e.*, the funeral pyre when a funeral monument like the stupas raised over relics is meant. But there are other kinds of stupas which do not enshrine relics and in such cases the word has to be derived from *cit, i.e.*, the mind, meaning thereby a scared monument for meditation purposes. Probably, therefore, this is the true derivation, the association with *citā* resulting from its eventual application also to the stupa.

The *koshas* (lexicons) that explain words and their meaning allow the use of the word in all the varieties of connotation just seen. The Amarakosha gives *caitya* as a synonym of an *āyatana* or house, especially a sacrificial hall. Rudra in enumerating the different uses of the word names a house or building, a Buddha image and an *uddeśya pādapa* or sacred tree as connoted by the word. The last is the *vrkshacaitya*.

Their Threefold Classification.

The Buddhist caitya or stupa is of three kinds: *śārīraka* stupas raised over relics; *uddeśika* stupas built as commemorative monuments; and *pāribhogika* stupas erected over articles used by Buddha like the bowl, the girdle, the sanghati, etc. This classification is believed to have been given by Buddha himself in the Parinibbana sutta.

The term *dagoba* or *dhātugarbha* (monument to enshrine relics) may be used as a synonym of stupa or caitya only when the sariraka type is meant. The others cannot, strictly speaking, be called dagobas since the term *dhātu* applies only to bodily relics.

The majority of stupas are *śārīraka*. The very first stupa built in the time of Buddha was sariraka. It was built by two merchants Trapusha and Bhalla who were the first to meet Buddha after his attaining Supreme Enlightenment. To them the Enlightened One gave a lock of hair and his nail parings to be honoured by the erection of a monument over them. There are many instances of stupas erected similarly during Buddha's lifetime over his hairs and nail parings. One such famous instance is the stupa erected by king Bimbisara in his harem at the suggestion of his wives (Mitra 1, p. 33; Winternitz, p. 282). The important sariraka stupas were, however, the monuments erected over the eight divisions of Buddha's relics after his death at Kusinara. These eight were, if tradition may be believed with the exception of the Ramagrama stupa (Vogel 2, p. 127), opened by Asoka, the relics divided into 84,000 parts and as many stupas raised over them in various parts all over India.

The reliquaries contain short inscriptions giving the name of the person whose relics they contain. Many such reliquaries have been excavated among which may be mentioned that of Haritiputra (Cunningham 2, p. 349), one of the Buddhist teachers of Asoka, and Sariputra and Maudgalyayana the principal disciples of Buddha (*op. cit.* p. 297).

There are stupas just for worship symbolising the parinirvana of Buddha but containing no relic. Famous examples of this type are the small stupas in caitya halls as at Karle and Bhaja. These are symbols rather than memorials. But the more important of the *uddeśika* stupas were built in famous places which were sanctified by some association with Buddha. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Thsang mentions countless stupas of this type. It was sometimes a footprint left by the Buddha that occasioned the erection of a stupa; or it was when he had performed a miracle as at Sravasti. The stupa raised by Asoka (Vogei 2, p. 95) in the Lumbini garden visited by the emperor in the company of his teacher Upagupta is a famous example of an *uddeśika* stupa.

The wheel and the triratna symbol were objects of worship of the *uddeśika* type. There are numerous sculptures at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and for the matter of that at every Buddhist place of importance, showing the worship of these symbols. The images of Buddha which come later—they are absent in the earlier sculptures—also come under this category, and General Cunningham explains the slab showing Pasenadi Kosala worshipping the wheel

as picturing the incident, recorded by Fa Hian, of the king worshipping the image of Buddha which he caused to be made of sandalwood to occupy the throne of the Enlightened One when he was absent for sometime in the Trayastrimsa heaven. He says: "As we have already seen that images of Buddha were not known in India in the time of Asoka, or even down to a much later period, I think it nearly certain that the object which Prasenajit set up was the Dharma cakra, or symbol of Buddha as the turner of the Wheel of the Law" (Cunningham 1, p. 111). But symbolic representation of the Master in the second century B.C. need not preclude anthropomorphic representation in the earliest instances (see below p. 56). At a later period images of Buddha were actually carved on the sides of the *uddeśika* stupas in caitya halls at Ajanta and other places (Burgess 4, pl. xxxi; Longhurst 1, fig. 21.)

Votive stupas of various types like the small monuments encased with neatly-carved marble slabs as at Amaravati in the vicinity of the great stupa, or miniature votive offerings like those in metal of a later date found in Negapatam, may also be styled *uddeśika* stupas. Such stupas were also greatly revered; and they served as eloquent testimony of what individual piety could achieve with only a moderate purse to pay for the monument. Such votive stupas of varying dates and dimensions abound in Katmandu near the Swayambhunath stupa around which they cluster. What great respect these small *uddeśika* stupas were shown and how they were treasured is evidenced by the attitude of a widow during the reign of king Sankaradeva (12th century), who, according to the Nepalese chronicle Vamsavali, "on the occasion of a fire in a village, fled to Patna, taking nothing with her except a small model of a chaitya, a manuscript of the Prajnaparamita......... ....and her little son" (Winternitz, p. 324).

The first and most important object of worship over which a *pāribhogika* stupa was erected was the golden vessel offered to Buddha by Sujata on the day of his enlightenment, which was thrown by Buddha into the river Neranjara after he had finished his meal of sweet milk porridge brought in it. Nagas and devas simultaneously clutched at it to convey it each to their own realm for worship.

The throne of Buddha is an oft-sculptured theme in all stupas. Monks and lay disciples are shown prostrating themselves before the throne of Buddha. The throne was held in such great reverence that every disciple and monk in a monastery was required to prepare a seat for Buddha before taking a seat himself. The seat that Buddha occupied under the tree at Bodhgaya was chosen only after great deliberation; and it is even today an object of veneration. General Cunningham in describing it says that "the *vajrāsana* or diamond-throne of Sakyamuni still exists under the pipal tree at Bodhgaya" (1, p. 112).

The Bodhi tree symbolic of Buddha's enlightenment is another sacred object of adoration. Sculptures representing worship of the Bodhi tree are numerous in every stupa. The story of how with untiring zeal Asoka fostered the Bodhi tree which miraculously sprouted even

though cut down by his jealous queen is well known; and it is a branch of this sacred tree taken to Ceylon in his time that has grown into the tree, a silent witness of more than two millenniums of perennial worship.

Generally these trees had a pavilion built around them known as the *rukkha cetiya*, of which there are sculptural representations. They are also a common theme on coins.

ORIGIN OF THE STUPA.

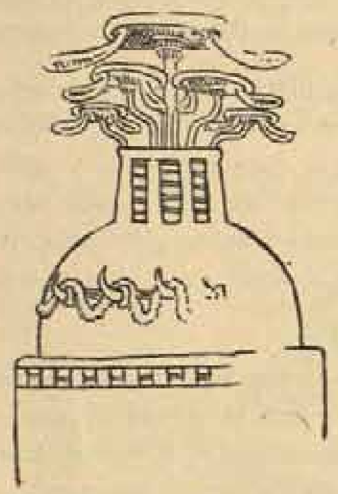
The stupa can be traced back to the funerary structure of the primitives. Circles of stone to mark the spot of burial are the precursors of the low mound which developed into the mighty stupas of a later age. Fergusson has a picture of the circles of stone which he saw in numbers in pre-historic sites near Amaravati and he traces back the stupa to this primitive sepulchre (Burgess 1, p. 23). The earliest form of stupa in the pre-Buddhistic period is the low mound encircled by a series of stones. These megaliths were sometimes so arranged as to leave a circumambulatory passage between the low tumulus and the enclosure stones. The tumuli were of two kinds. Some were provided with a vault for the relics in earthen vessels. There were others that lacked this chamber. In such cases the remains were simply covered with earth, a large slab placed over the mass and the whole covered up by the tumulus raised over it. The primitive custom of preserving the remains of the departed in an urn kept in the vault under the tumulus is seen even in the stupa where the reliquary is safely stowed away in a chamber situated usually in the centre. A fine picture of the section plan of the stupa, showing this arrangement of relic preservation is given by Rea (1, pl. xiv).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUPA AND ITS PARTS.

The earliest stupas such as we see in the carvings at Bharhut and Sanchi, were very simple in structure. They were not built and decorated so elaborately or on such a huge scale as some of the famous stupas with which we are more familiar. Stupas erected during the time of Asoka were simple structures of brick and plaster surrounded by a wooden rail with open gateways facing the cardinal points (Longhurst 1, p. 13). To illustrate this point M. Longhurst has chosen the Andher stupa, described by General Cunningham in his Bhilsa Topes (2, p. 349), on account of the tolerable certainty of its age ascertained from the inscription of the steatite reliquary which mentions the relics of Haritiputra a Buddhist teacher and contemporary of Asoka.

Rapacious hunt by ignorant villagers after imaginary treasures hidden in the ancient mounds has so completely obliterated the form of these structures that we have to form our image of the early stupa from sculptural representations of the monument. A fragment of the carved coping of the elaborate rail at Amaravati built in the second century after Christ shows a representation of a stupa of the earlier type (pl. xlix, fig. 2 b). It is a simple

structure shaped like a cup placed upside down and is surrounded by a simple rail. Mr. Longhurst has discussed a representation of the early type of stupa on one of the carvings from Sanchi (1, p. 14, fig. 15). The circular drum is low and the stupa is a small structure of brick surrounded by a wooden railing. It is this wooden railing that was later on copied in stone on a more elaborate scale for the bigger stupas as at Sanchi, Bharhut and Amaravati.



C.S. del FIG. 1.

There are descriptions in early Buddhist literature of people purchasing flowers to be offered at stupas for decorating them. Such a description applies only to the smaller early stupas which had pegs at intervals all around the drum at a particular height (see fig. 1, a carving from Jaggayyapeta). The stupas being sufficiently low and comparatively small could well be decorated by pious worshippers with festoons and garlands of fresh flowers which were supported by the pegs. This later on developed into a conventional representations of the festoons in plaster work over the edifice and the pegs that were then superfluous became in their turn purely ornamental, and lingered on as well-carved discs of exaggerated size. The rail in its primitive form was a simple fencing made of wood and the later copy in stone of the wooden structure which is so heavy and laborious speaks eloquently of its origin. The elaborate rail with decorations carved on it came later, the gateways at the cardinal points being special ornamental features.

The stupa believed to be the earliest so far unearthed is that at Piprahwa near Nepal. This is a low structure with a broad base 22 feet high and a basal diameter of 116 feet. About a couple of centuries later, the architects of the Sanchi stupa made the edifice 54 feet high with a basal diameter exceeding that of the Piprahwa stupa by just 4 feet.

The *harmikā* or the box-shaped construction above the stupa which bore on its crown the umbrellas, has now to be reconstructed from imagination. Even at Sanchi, one of the best preserved of stupas, it has disappeared. But bas reliefs of the stupa on slabs give us a good idea of it. This superfluous addition could not have existed in the very early stupas. There are representations of stupas of the early types lacking the harmika and the umbrella. The outline of the harmika marked at a higher level the position of the chamber enshrining the reliquary.

The umbrellas increased in course of time into an indefinite number and are shown in the sculptures as fixed in various ways. Sometimes they are conventionally strained into fantastic curves in a most unnatural way on either side (pl. lxi, fig. 1). Sometimes they form a canopy over the stupa (pl. xxix, fig. 3). Miniature representations of the stupa like the one from Nagarjunakonda (Longhurst 2, pl. xvii c), the rock-cut one from Kanheri

(Burgess 4, pl. iv) or the one figured by Cunningham (1, pl. xxxi) show the early decoration of the monument with a single parasol. The origin of the later development can be seen in pl. xiii of Cunningham's book where another umbrella appears above the original one. This later developed into a series of umbrella piled one over the other as in early examples depicted at Ajanta (Burgess 4, pl. xxxi), each umbrella retaining its individuality in a conical mass. In the later examples depicted there (Longhurst 1, fig. 20) their individuality was gradually lost till in the last stage the cone came to bear a strong resemblance to the stupas in Burma.

The drum of the stupa also underwent change, the circular structure of the earlier period making way for a square one. The *vedikā* or circular platform with cordinal projections approached by steps leading to them disappeared and for the first time images of Buddha were introduced into niches on each side. The drum was no longer low; the height being considerably increased and the *anda* or the cup-shaped part instead of retaining its primitive semi-circular contour bulging out above the drum. This bulging is found even in the rock-cut stupas at Kanheri.

The evolution of the *toraṇa* (gateway) is equally interesting. The earliest type is found at Amaravati and was still the fashion even during the days of Nagarjuna as is evident from its representation in the sculptural pictures of the stupa. The early gateway, if we remember the verse of Kalidasa *śreṇībandhān vitanvadbhirastambhām toraṇasrajam*, is but a pair of stambhas or pillars to which were tied the two ends of a *taraṇa* wreath. The earlier *toraṇa stambhas* must have had fresh *toraṇa* wreaths tied to them every day. Later, heavy stone-work took the place of wreaths. The decoration of the stupa with fresh flowers and the torana pillars with flower or leaf garlands gave place, in all probability, to structural representations and modifications of the original almost about the same period.

The earliest surviving gateway is the one at Bharhut where the numerous miniature caryatids coming between the curved bars of the *toraṇa* suggest that they might have been evolved from fresh mango leaves hanging from a string. This *toraṇa* of fresh mango leaves continues to be a feature in every Hindu house on festive occasions. The leaves may have been worked in the earlier stages in a natural way and later on modified into ornamentations and sculptures of caryatids and miniature pillars which slowly obliterated the original forms. The significance of these small parts of the *toraṇa* which is already obscure at Bharhut seems to have been completely forgotten and ignored by the sculptors responsible for the *toraṇas* at Sanchi where they are not so numerous but appear to have been retained to observe a custom or tradition. The primitive *toraṇa* has however survived at Amaravati where the sculptures give us a good idea of the original stupa. It is not improbable that the two slender pillars, with capitals shaped like stupas which Dr. Burgess thinks may have been the emblem of the Caityaka school (1, pl. xxxi, fig. 6), represent the regular *toraṇa* stambhas. Two or four lions seated on pillars guarded the gateways of Amaravati and from these the later *simhad-vāras* (lion gateways) of Mukhalingam and other Kalinga temples have developed.

Connecting the four gateways is the rail round the stupa which is sometimes richly sculptured on the inside with scenes from the legends of Buddha in his various births, the outer side showing only dwarfs, lotuses and half-lotuses on the uprights and cross-bars and a long undulating flower garland on the coping. Of the garland Dr. Foucher says that it is a pseudo-flower garland and only a long purse full of coins and hence appropriately issuing from the mouths of yakshas, guardians of treasure, for the benefit of the devotees. The plinth was also carved on the outside with representations of men running after mythical animals. The plinth was absent on the inner side as the floor between the rail and the base of the stupa was somewhat elevated, being reached by steps beginning with a moonstone just near the gateway.

An account of the parts of the stupa and their relation to one another, study of which is essential to a proper understanding of the structure, is given in a very interesting and illuminating paper of Prof. Dubreuil entitled *L'architecture d' Amaravati*. In this he has given pictures to illustrate his points, one of which is here given with his kind permission (fig. 2). He divides the three main divisions of the stupa into smaller parts. The first, the cylindrical part or base, is composed of two subordinate parts (1) the sculptured panel zone below and (2) the narrow frieze above. The second, the hemispherical part, is composed of (1) a range of sculpture, (2) a plain zone above, (3) a decorated collar and (4) a plain zone at the top. On the top is the square part, the *harmikā*, which is a balustrade around a central pillar of imposing dimensions, beside which are the parasols. Prof. Dubreuil explains the square shape of the *harmikā* by comparing it with the hedges around *caityavrkshas* of which this with the central pillar forms so close a parallel, a convincing explanation.

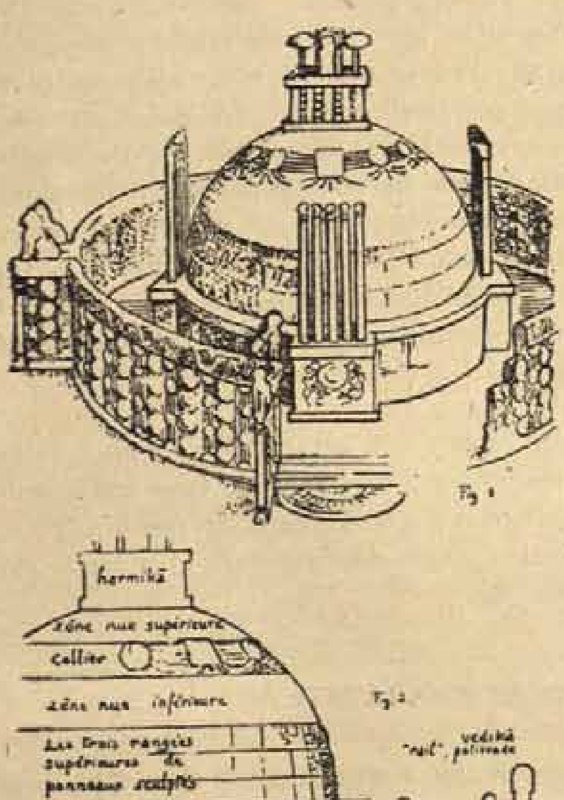


Fig. 1 et 2. — **Essai de reconstitution d'un stûpa de l'époque d'Amarâvati.**

After Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil.

FIG. 2.

As it is difficult to study the sculptural part of the stupa, much of which is hidden by the rail in the sculptures, he has given an imaginary picture with a part of the gate demolished. The *āyaka* platform has

projections at the cardinal points. There are five pillars on each projection, square at the base, then octagonal and finally rounded at the top. The platform is rather narrow all along for the size of the stupa. Prof. Dubreuil thinks that as no steps leading to the top of the platform are to be seen it is probable that it was not used as path but served as a drain for the rain water that ran down the hemispherical part of the stupa. But as at Nagarjunakonda there are steps leading to the platform it probably was used for perambulatory purposes, and similar steps to the platform no doubt existed at Amaravati and elsewhere. The sculptor may have omitted them either as unimportant details or because they existed only at the back of the stupa which cannot be seen in the representation of its front.

The most important fact that Prof. Dubreuil points out is that whatever may be the dimensions of the stupa the height of the cylindrical base is just that of an average man, the frieze thus being on eye level. This explains the small size of the sculptures on the frieze and the slabs below it. The sculptures encasing the lower part of the dome above the platform are larger as they have to be seen from below and further away. The decorated collar was probably of still larger dimensions in stucco. As the height of the dome and the circumference of the stupa varied but the height of the drum was the same in the case of all stupas, Prof. Dubreuil points out how inexact are the representations of the large stupa on the casing slabs with almost equal base and dome. This has caused the greatest confusion in the understanding of the form of the large stupas of Amaravati, Ghantasala, etc., and has occasioned such remarks as those of Rea who thinks that the stupa of Ghantasala with a huge dome on a short base is different from others of its kind.

This important fact that Prof. Dubreuil has explained is also proved by inscriptions on the carved slabs from the drum. Thus its inscription proves that the large and magnificent slab (pl. lix fig. 2) is from the Mahacaitya or great stupa of Amaravāti (see inscription No. 102) but a similar one is from a smaller votive stupa—*khuda cetiya*—of a mendicant (*peṇḍavatika*) named Nagasena (see inscription No. 103).

SCULPTURAL PERIODS AT AMARAVATI.

The sculptures from the Amaravati stupa can be dated approximately from their style and from the palaeography of their inscriptions. Four periods are easily distinguishable. To interpret the style the work of every period all over the country has to be taken into account, and it is interesting to see how similar the style of the earliest period of Amaravati is to that of Bharhut while the style of the later periods of Amaravati more resembles that of Mathura in the Kushan period. Every period shows its own type of human anatomy dress, ornaments, poses and grouping. Successive stages of advance in technique and refinement are also clearly noticeable.

First Period c.a. 200—100 B.C.

The sculptures of this period are very few and are mostly fragmentary, but they are easily distinguished from the rest. They are characterised by a certain amount of stiffness, and by an awkward pose void of flexions (pl. xiv, fig. 3, 5). The face is slightly dull and the peculiarly shaped eyes are slightly aslant (pl. xvi, fig. 1). The lips are mere lumps coarsely bevelled. The fingers are either straight like drumsticks or flatly bent without any natural shape (pl. xviii, fig. 1 and 3). Even the ornaments sit awkwardly in their places. The bracelets though decorated with carefully worked patterns seem to be just flat strips attached to the side visible in the sculpture (pl. xviii, fig. 1). The necklaces with more than one jewelled square clasp have a twist at the lower end and rest flat on the chest (pl. xiv, fig. 4, pl. viii, ffg, 1). The girdle, which is the most attractive jewel of this period, is a thick band with a clasp or a knot at the centre below the waist, and beautiful ornamental tips (pl. viii, fig. 31). Male figures of this period from Amaravati are to be distinguished by their thick cordshaped waist band from similar contemporary figures from Bharhut and elsewhere that wear a sash tied in ribbon fashion about the waist, along with their women—a mode that is often to be seen only in feminine figures of the various periods in Amaravati (pl. ix, fig. 5). The central tassels of cloth or sash form a double line of zigzags. From the heavy cord-shaped waist band ornamented with flowers worn by men hangs a heavy semi-circular loop and the side tassels are as conspicuous as the median tassel. Sometimes the waist band is a thick twisted silken cloth as in the figure of the Cakravartin from Jaggayyapeta (pl. iii, fig. 6 a) a type later developed almost exclusively in Mathura Kushan and Gupta sculpture from which it passes into Chalukyan work.

The cloth worn by men generally covers just the thighs and the folds are indicated by double lines at intervals, but in the case of women the double lines at intervals all along the leg proceed further below the thigh, and though the waist zone is elaborately worked the woman appears to be nude in spite of her dress (pl. xlv, figs. 2 b and 3). In the case of women a strip of cloth—no doubt worked with costly material into patterns—is used as a boundary line of the hair just above the forehead, droops along to the ears and proceeds on either side of the braid or plaited locks which it encircles (pl. iv, fig. 29). In this as in other periods there is a jewel above the forehead just near the parting of the hair. The headgear of men is shaped in such a way that the prominence of the circular central frontal crest jewel is not so obvious as in later periods (pl. vii, fig. 5).

Necklets worn by women are flat jewelled strips (pl. iv, fig. 9) or strings of beads or gems rather close to the neck with a somewhat large and elongate central gem (pl. xvi, fig. 3). The earrings also distinguish the figures of this period. A double-ring beaten flat or into arch shape on one side and into an ornamented square pattern on the other is the common variet y (pl. viii, fig. 22). Multicoiled circular ring—the true *patrakuṇḍala*, only in this case *suvar napatrakundala* or coil of gold leaf—is also shown in some reliefs both from Amaravati

(pl. vii, fig. 5) and Jaggayyapeta. The feet are as primitively worked as the hands and nails are prominently shown (pl. xviii, fig. 1). In the case of reliefs the feet are so worked that they always present an impossible position (pl. xviii, fig. 3). The figure faces the spectator but the feet face opposite directions their heels coming together. Buddha is invariably represented symbolically and nearly almost always in the next period.

The coping fragments of this period are as interesting as they are amusing. Here we have quaint dwarfs carrying the usual highly decorated flower garland. The sculptors have chiselled these pieces with great exuberance and have infused more life into them than into any of the other sculptures of the period. The dwarfs are not as awkward in their movement as are the men and women of this period ; they have the other characteristic early features. Here we have the earliest representation of the parent of the later iconographic form of Ganesa (pl. xv, fig. 2) and Lakshmi (pl. xv, fig. 3). The former is shown with his usual characteristics of prominent paunch, short and stumpy limbs, elephantine head and ears, but the trunk is absent. It appears almost cut off and the foreshortened front view of his head without the trunk is so superb that it baffles one to know how the sculptor managed to imagine and execute such a figure.

Lakshmi appears for the first time in the sculptures of Bharhut and Bodhgaya. She is here known as Sirima devata. About the same period she is seen in the early sculptures of Amaravati. She is also represented a number of times on the gateways at Sanchi. In the Anantagumpha cave she occurs over the entrance. Everywhere except in the Anantagumpha cave she is attended by elephants and is the earliest parent of the later Gajalakshmi. But in Amaravati as in the sculpture of the Sunga period at Sanchi she is seated and is attending to what may appear perhaps a task that is rather unequal to her dignity. But a flower garland is itself auspicious and all auspicious things being associated with Sri her tugging at a flower garland is perhaps not after all quite beneath her especially when it is rescued from the mouth of a makara to adorn a monument and gladden the eyes of spectators. She is seated on a full blown lotus and just drawing out the roll which is carried by dwarfs (pl. xv, fig. 3), an unenviable task fit only for gnomes to do as the sculptor thought in this period, while a couple of centuries later the most dignified princely beings along with their consorts gave a shoulder to the same fascinating garland (pl. xli, fig. 2) whose charm far surpasses that of its primitive parent or its Gandhara cousin. In the latter case the very uncouth appearance and angular zigzag course which deprives it of the charm of its light soft material warrants the presence of short stumpy hobgoblins. They groan under the weight of such a comparatively insignificant garland that there is suggestion of great weight ; while the huge garland at Amaravati so full of beauty carried at intervals by such slender figures speaks as much of its delicate nature as of its essential characteristic of being composed of flowers in whose case weight is an impossibility and the thickness of the garlands matters not.

Almost all the sculptures from the plinth like a few of the coping pieces are from an earlier rail and invariably all the animals shown here are rather heavy, powerful and elongate (Burgess, 1, pl. xxix, fig. 2; pl. xxx figs. 2, 3, 4 and 5 and pl. xxxi, fig. 4). The men running after them hardly seem to control them. Some with wings and eagle heads remind us of similar figures from the empire of Darius (*loc. cit.* pl. xxx, fig. 3 and pl. xxxi, fig. 4). The sculptors who could create such vigorous animals—the hoofs and paws of the bulls and lions strike terror into the heart (*loc. cit.* pl. xxx, figs. 3 and 4)—were not mere tiros in sculpture, but they were yet evolving that splendid art that was to culminate in the sculpture of more than a couple of centuries later. Even the elephants, in carving whose figures the Indian sculptor has shown skill as great as in working the makara or the lotus, are yet rather clumsy. This is easily seen in the double elephants over the petal-covered bell-shaped capital of the period (pl. xvi, fig. 5). The swan, a favourite border pattern with the Indian is yet on its way (pl. xiv, fig. 4) to become the graceful *rājahamsa* (royal swan) of a later period, an excellent example of which is preserved on one of the marbles in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. lviii, fig. 2).

Though zigurats[1], half blown lotuses and bells occur as border decorations, in almost identical form, on the Bharhut rail and in the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri about the time, only the bells appear here in the border designs of the period. The makara has not yet become the fantastic creature that it is to be in the medieval period, a march towards which change is to be noticed in the animal occurring even in the period coming immediately after this. The crocodile with its elongate mouth full of terrible teeth is as realistic in Bharhut as in early Amaravati sculpture.

SECOND PERIOD, *c. a.* 100 A. D.

Sculpture of this period shows a definite step forward. The fingers are more graceful and natural. The awkward and stiff bearing of the earlier figures is no longer perceptible here. The faces wear a more likely appearance and the features generally speaking are nearer approaches to the two later periods than the first and the earlier. Though not so few as those of the first period, sculptures of this period are not very numerous. Most of them are slabs that once encased the great stupa at Amaravati. They are generally in an order depicting the principal scenes from Buddha's life almost always symbolically though occasionally there is a departure from this rule and for the first time Buddha is shown in human form just more than a couple of times. The origin of Buddha's image is still a matter of controversy but history points to the earliest figures in Gandhara and to their appearance at Mathura and Amaravati simultaneously only in the next century. But it is obvious that the graceful figures at Amaravati with sōft form and softer clothing have nothing in common with the moustached or topknotted Graeco-Buddhist Buddhas with exaggerated muscular form and sharp folds.

1 Zigurats or ziggurast were many-storied buildings in Chaldea whose size dwindled gradually with each storey.

Asoka watering the Bodhi tree is too weathered to give a good idea of his form (Burgess I, pl. xlvi, fig. 3; xlviii, fig. 1), but Mara's daughter and the gnomes that vainly try to entice and vanquish Buddha (Burgess I, pl. xlvi, fig. 2) are cleverly executed, the form and poses of figures and even the composition as a whole being to a great extent the parents of scenes almost identical in the succeeding periods. The sculpture showing prince Siddhartha leaving his palace to roam the world for discovering the truth of life is typical of symbolic representation (pl. xix, fig. 1-*a*). The figures of men here are typical of the period; and there is a broken fragment coming immediately above this at one end showing women in various attitudes who are as typical for their forms. Generally speaking, figures of this period have become more graceful than those that came before them but are yet rather heavy and have not yet that light feeling that is to be seen in the sculptures on the rail or the casing slabs of the votive stupas. As in the earlier sculptures of the first period there are wavy folds in the clothes that drape the figures of this period. The *Śatavallika* (see p. 117) mode of wear persists. The finest example of this is in a sculpture preserved in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. xcv, fig. 4). Another noteworthy feature of this period is that women, as in Mathura sculptures of the period, are represented dressed and yet appear nude (pl. xxiii, fig. 2). That they are dressed is easily perceived in the double lines of the cloth incised over the legs; but though the thick waist bands and loops are here as in later sculptures the arrangement of the small fan-like central *guccha* (bunch of folds of garment)—very like *macchavālaka* (see p. 117)—to cover the nakedness is sometimes absent (pl. xxxiii, fig. 2).

THIRD PERIOD, *c. a.* 150 A.D.

To this period belongs only the rail that was constructed around the great stupa by Nagarjuna but its remains are numerous and imposing. What little of this has survived suffices to show what a noble structure it must have been and the perfection of art at the time. For the art of the rail period at Amaravati was the most splendid in all India and for all time. The high watermark of Satavahana art is to be sought here and in this period. The figures are delicate and there is a feeling of soft touch in them. Figures crowd in scenes but there is a light feeling in all, flexions characterise poses (pl. i, fig. 5 b; pl. ix, fig. 5; pl. xxxvi, fig. 2) but nothing can be termed gaudy and there is buoyant feeling of rich life in all of them.

A noteworthy feature in these sculptures absent in previous ones is the delineation of different planes. This is achieved with perfect ease by the sculptor and when we remember how difficult it is to arrange this in relief work the ability of the sculptor can be imagined. The figures of the first plane are cut in deep relief, those of the next plane in lower relief and those of a third and subsequent and more distant plane so arranged (pl. xxv, fig. 1 & 2; pl. xxxiv, fig. 1) that figures in the distance are almost line sketches,

in such low relief are they worked. Where the figure is carved obliquely one of the sides is in high relief—this is well noticed in the shoulder, arm etc.,—the other side being less deeply cut (see the prince adoring ascetics, pl. xxvii, fig. 2-*a*). Even in carving the legs of animals and the like the farther ones are in very low relief (see the farther pair of legs of the elephants in (pl. xxv, fig. 1 and pl. xxvi, fig. 2). In this period the most often used symbol for Buddha, apart from the empty throne and feet, is a flaming pillar above feet on a lotus crowned by a trisula.

On the rail coping the flower garland develops many additional small strands which are allowed to trail in a pleasing fashion, the main garland being supported not by the dwarfish gnomes of the first period but by graceful youths and damsels (pl. xli, fig. 2). Even when the garland is pulled out of the mouth of a large dwarf yaksha or a crocodile these two subjects are treated in a manner different from the early one. The crocodile has changed. Its ears, snout, contour of face, addition of front legs in some cases, have all completely transformed it into a new creature (pl. liii, fig. 2 and pl. lvi, fig. 2). The fat dwarf of this period is more majestic and wears an aspect in every way different from the comical one of those of the first period. His turban and earrings are an admirable study (pl. li, fig. 2). The dwarfs on the upright with flowing ribbon-shaped *udarabandha* (pl. xxxiii, fig. 2), and carrying drums and ornamental clubs (pl. xiii, fig. 4 and pl. xxxiii, fig. 2) dancing in various funny poses (pl. xxxii, fig. 2) are also different from the early ones.

Representation of groups in crowded scenes is easy play for the sculptor of this period; and the arrangement is always perfect. Sometimes the figures are so arranged as to have a fair balance for artistic effect in the composition but absolute symmetry is avoided (pl. xxix, fig. 3); but sometimes they are arranged with meticulous care so that there is perfect symmetry and yet in spite of number and position tallying on either side it is pleasing to the eye (pl. xxvi, fig. 1).

In the representation of scenes of action and human emotions the sculptor of the rail period is a great master. Udayana's fierce stand with a bow in his hand and the frightened harem (pl. xxxiv, fig. 1), the unfortunately mutilated battle scene (pl. lvi, fig. 1), the confusion created by the elephant in the streets of Rajagrha (pl. xxv, fig. 1) are examples of this great capacity of the sculptor, and the poses are the result of great observation and study, the delineation of the subtle variations of human form being perfect. It is sculpture of this period that mainly supplies us with a wealth of details of all aspects of life of the period.

FOURTH PERIOD, *c.a.* 200–250 A.D.

In this period the figures are sometimes slightly taller and slimmer (pl. lx, fig. 2) but on the casing slabs with stupa representations somewhat diminutive in size. Pearl strands are favourite ornaments. The pearl necklace often encircles a shoulder, and in that position it appears natural as if stuck up like that quite by accident and not as if deliberately carved

by the sculptor. Now, for the first time, appears the yajnopavita all composed of pearls (*muktāyajñopavīta*). It is a long one and reaches the knee, getting thicker as it proceeds down from the shoulder. The yajnopavita occurs on the shoulders of both man and woman (pl. vii, figs. 25 & 29. pl. lxi, fig. 1 and pl. lx, fig. 1). The *udarabandha* sometimes drops its ribbon ends and loops (pl. lvi, fig. 1). Lion head as a motif, which may be seen in later sculptures on armlets, wristlets; crowns and waist zones, occurs here on the crown of a nagaraja (pl. lxi, fig. 1 and pl. viii, fig. 25). *Cūḍāmanimakarikā* or the crocodile jewel on the head is now a favourite ornament (pl. lx, figs. 1 & 2). From this double-headed makari has developed the double makara ornament on the face of the crown of the Pallava and Chola periods. Mara now has sometimes a bow in his hand (pl. lx, fig. 1), a feature absent in earlier sculpture. The sculptor of this period is the creator of the complex figure of the dwarf with lion head on his stomach (pl. lx, fig. 1 and pl. iii, fig. 5-*a*). At the same time at Ghantasala a moustached human face is substituted for the lion's head by the sculptor (pl. iii, fig. 5 b). The finest miniature sculptures in small circular bosses in the friezes and casing slabs are the work of this time.

Some if not all the sculptures of this period are carved on the original early casing slabs. Dr. Foucher (2, pl. vi) has figured a slab carved on both sides in his paper 'Les sculpture d'Amaravati' and explained that earlier slabs were carved again at a later period. There are many other such early slabs carved also on the other side and the famous one given by Burgess as frontispiece in his book is itself one. It was one of the first things and highly interesting that I learnt from Dr. Gravely when I began my study of the Amaravati sculptures. The stupa base was decorated with large slabs showing pilasters at intervals with animals above bell-shaped capitals and devotees adoring Buddha represented symbolically. These are of early workmanship of about the second century B.C. The second series above the platform is of about 100 A.D. The rail is of about 150 A.D. And again the sculptures at the base were pulled out and recarved on the back this time as large panels showing stupas with frieze above about the beginning of the third century A.D.

The most distinctive characteristics of the four periods of Amaravati sculpture, of other early Indian sculptural periods as illustrated at Bharhut, Ajanta caves, Sanchi, Mathura (Kushan) and in sculpture of the Gupta period and of the early medieval sculpture of the early Chalukyans and Pallavas are summarised in the following table.

TABLE OF EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURAL PERIODS

TABLE OF EARLY

NOTE.—The page number appended to each item refers

ITEM.	BHARHUT.	AJANTA, 2nd century B.C.[1]	AMARAVATI, 1st period.	SANCHI.	AMARAVATI, 2nd period, c.a. 100 A.D.
	2nd century B.C.				
Necklace. (p. 110) (men).	*Phalakahāra*[2] and *kaṇṭhi*[3].	*Phalakahāra* and *kaṇṭhi*.	*Phalakahāra and* rarely *kaṇṭhi*.	*Phalakahāra and* rarely *kaṇṭhi*.	Single string of pearls with or without elongate central gem.
(Women).	One or more of following :— Several strings of pearls each with central elongate gem. *Phalakahāra* similar to that worn by men. Broad gold chain composed of many strands. Twisted golden cord.	Several strings of pearls each with central elongate gem, and or *phalakahāra* similar to that worn by men. Single string of pearls.	Single string of pearls, several strings with elongate gem and *kaṇṭhi*.	Single string of pearls, rarely with *phalakahāra* or *kaṇṭhi*.	Several strings of pearls each with central elongate gem.
Garment (pp. 117–118).	Lower cloth just below knee and folds indicated by parellel lines. *S'atavallika* mode of wear (p. 117) most frequent for men and women. Single parallel lines from just below knee upwards indicate border and folds of lower cloth.	......	Lower cloth of men and women just above or below the knee, same as at Bharhut except that lines are double, and folds are indicated by double parallel lines. *S'atavallika* mode sometimes indicated. Also striped drawers for men and women.	Border of lower cloth of men and women indicated by incised line just below knee. Striped drawers for men and women. Women appearing nude (pl. i, fig. 2 a).	Lower cloth definitely 'below the knee and folds indicated by double parallel lines. *S'atavallika* mode of wear generally shown. The cloth is suggested by double lines on thighs and legs. Women as at Sanchi.

[1]Tenth cave only, paintings in almost all other caves being of Gupta period.

[2]For definition see below p. 110.

[3]For definition see below p. 111.

INDIAN SCULPTURAL PERIODS.

to the page above in which it has been dealt with in detail.

Mathura Kushan, 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.	Amaravati, 3rd period, 2nd century A.D.	Amaravati. 4th period, 3rd century A.D.	Gupta, 300—600 A.D.	Early Chalukyan, 6th and 7th centuries A.D.	Pallava, 7th and 8th centuries A.D.
Phalakahāra ...	Generally bare-necked, sometimes with single string of pearls or many-stringed bunch of pearls without or (rarely) with *kaṇṭhi*.	Single strand of pearls.	Single string of pearls (generally) or double string of pearls with big central gem.	Single string of pearls and a gem-set *kaṇṭhi* with small pearl strings suspended all along.	*Kaṇṭhi* or (very rarely) string of pearls.
Ekāvali (p. 110) with *kaṇṭhi*.	Generally bare-necked, sometimes with *kaṇṭhi*.	*Nishka* (p. 111).	Single or (rarely) multiple string of pearls.	Strings of pearls.	Generally bare-necked.
Women as at Sanchi but often with transparency of dress indicated only by border of cloth (pl. i, fig. 4 a).	Central loop below waist-zone for men. Lower cloth of women transparent and suggested only by slightly thickened lower margin. Only *kaccha* and *nivibandha* are clearly shown.	Central loop below waist-zone for men. For women as in Amaravati 3rd period.	Central loop below waist-zone for men. Lower cloth of men and women indicated only by incised marginal line.	Heavy central loop for male figures. Lower cloth of men not indicated. *Ardhoruka* (shorts) for women.	Heavy central loop for male and female figures.

ITEM.	BHARHUT.	AJANTA.	AMARAVATI, 1st period.	SANCHI.	AMARAVATI, 2nd period, c.a. 100 A.D.
	2nd century B.C.				
Girdle or waistband	Sash tied in ribbon fashion by both men and women, in latter over usual waist-zone composed of strands of gems.	As at Bharhut, at least for women[1].	For men, thick cordshaped waistband with clasp or knot at centre below waist and ornamental tips. For women waistband tied in ribbon fashion over waist-zone of gems. Sometimes thick twisted cloth wound round the waist and tied in a loop at the side in either sex.	Sash tied in ribbon fashion by both men and women, in the case of the latter over waist-zone of gems.	For women as at Sanchi.
Armlets ...	Shaped like *fleur de lis* on a band worn close to men's shoulders. On women chain of gold, pearl strands, or gem-set band, or (usually) nothing.	As at Bharhut for men. Usually absent from women, occasionally pearl strand.	Broad gem-set band worn close to men's shoulders. Absent from women usually, occasionally band close to shoulder.	As at Bharhut, but always absent from women.	Single, double or treble band, or occasionally absent from men, usually absent and never treble on women
Earrings ...	*Karṇaveshṭana*[2] (pl. I, fig. 1 a) or coiled *karṇapatra* (p. 109).	*Karṇaveshṭana* and *karṇapatra.*	As at Bharhut ...	As at Bharhut ...	Crescent shaped *kuṇḍala*[3] (pl. xx, fig. 1).

[1] Girdles of men cannot be properly seen, pictures being fragmentary.
[2] For description see p. 109.
[3] For description see p. 108.

MATHURA KUSHAN, 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.	AMARAVATI, 3rd period, 2nd century A.D.	AMARAVATI, 4th period, 3rd century A.D.	GUPTA, 300—600 A.D.	EARLY CHALUKYAN, 6th and 7th centuries A.D.	PALLAVA, 7th and 8th centuries A.D.
As at Sanchi, but mostly with thick twisted cloth as in Amaravati 1st period.	As at Sanchi for women. Cord above loop below waist for men.	Jewelled waist-zone for women. Thick twisted cloth as in Amaravati 1st period. Cord above loop below waist for men.	For women jewelled girdle with central gem-set circular clasp from which issues a tassel, or jewelled girdle with many pearl pendant strands. For men twisted cords, with thick twisted cloth as in Amaravati 1st period.	Sash tied in ribbon fashion for male figures over gem-set strap for the waist. Jewelled girdle of women with many pendant pearl strands. Men with twisted cloth as in Amaravati 1st period.	Sash tied in ribbon fashion for both male and female figures.
Usually absent, sometimes gem-set band on men, two or more bands usually present on women.	Absent from men, gem-set band or multi-coiled armlet on women.	Single, double or treble band generally worn by both sexes or sometimes single gem-set band.	Both sexes with gem-set pearl tasselled band or with gem-set and with coiled golden rod.	As in Gupta ...	...
Patrakuṇḍalas[4] or ear drops, composed of thick cluster of pearls.	Crescent shaped *kuṇḍalas* or *makara-kuṇḍalas*[5] with tassels or cylindrical ear ring with tassels or wheel shaped kundalas.	Crescent shaped *kuṇḍalas* or *makara-kuṇḍalas* with tassels.	(Ear lobe free), *patrakuṇḍalas* or gem-set ear drops more or less of *trikaṇṭaka*[6] form.	Usually *patrakuṇḍalas* or *Ratna-kuṇḍalas*, sometimes *trikaṇṭakas*.	Usually *makara-kuṇḍala* with tassels, sometimes *trikaṇṭakas*

[4] For description see p. 109.
[5] For description see p. 108.
[6] For description see p. 109.

ITEM	BHARHUT.	AJANTA.	AMARAVATI, 1st period.	SANCHI.	AMARAVATI, 2nd period, c.a. 100 A.D.
	2nd century B.C.				
Bracelets ...	Composed of many strings of gems, resembling strips arranged one beside another, for men. For women close coils reaching nearly half way to elbow.	As at Bharhut ...	On men heavier than at Bharhut and decorated with carefully worked patterns, in women as at Bharhut and also *ratnavalaya*[1] and *phalakavalaya*[2] of pearls.	As in Amaravati 1st period, except that, in women coils reach elbow.	......
Gem on forehead (women only).	Gem encircled and half hidden by hair band.	Do. ...	As at Bharhut ...	As at Bharhut ...	Plainer but more fully exposed, also sometimes as in Mathura Kushan.
Headgear (female figures).	Ornamental band just above forehead and bordering back hair, whether in plaits or coil; or from which hair hangs in plaits.	Band as at Bharhut.	Band as at Bharhut.	Band as at Bharhut, but somewhat more elaborate at back; sometimes with hair arranged fanwise above it in front.	......
(Male figures.)	Large inelegant turban with circular fluffed ball to the right.	Similar but with fluffed ball central.	Turban with stout central T shaped ornament.	Turban as at Amaravati or Ajanta, or with frontal projection like conch.[3]	Turban elegant with central or side ornament.

[1] For description see p. 111.

[2] For description see p. 111.

[3] In two scenes only Indra wears the *kirita* which subsequently becomes his accepted headgear.

MATHURA KUSHAN, 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.	AMARAVATI, 3rd period, 2nd century A.D.	AMARAVATI, 4th period, 3rd century A.D.	GUPTA, 300—600, A.D.	EARLY CHALUKYAN, 6th and 7th centuries A.D.	PALLAVA, 7th and 8th centuries A.D.
Two or three heavy *ratnavalayas*[1] on men, on women as at Sanchi.	Three *valayas* on man, on woman three *valayas*, close coils as at Bharhut and *jālavalaya*.	Two or three *valayas* for men, for women a few close coils and a heavy gem-set *valaya*.	One, two or three *valayas* for male and female figures.	Two or three *ratnavalayas* for male figures, for female figures close coils reaching nearly to elbow and crossed by flattened band.	Three bracelets on each hand for male and female figures.
Replaced by hair arranged in large circle above centre of forehead.	(Rarely) arranged as in Kushan figures. Central gem usually plain and fully exposed but sometimes replaced by hair arranged as in Kushan figures.	Central gem plain and fully exposed.	Absent ...	Absent ...	Absent.
As at Sanchi ...	As at Sanchi ...	As at Sanchi but often with *cuḍāmakarikā*.[2]	Pearl bedecked *dhammilla*[3] with central jewel.	*Dhammilla*,[3] *jaṭāmakuṭa*[4] or conical *kirīṭa*[5] set with pearls.	*Cuḍāmakari*[1] transformed into ornament on *kirīṭa*[5] on both male and female figures.
Turban elegant, generally with central circular ornament above an elaborate gem. Flat topped *kirīṭa* worn instead of turban by Indra only.	Elegant turbans of varied forms with decoration central or to one side, Indra distinguished by *kirīṭa*.	As in 3rd period.	Flat-topped *kirīṭa* for Vishnu as well as Indra. Jewelled conical *kirīṭa* for some other deities.	Flat-topped *kirīṭa* of Vishnu and Indra occasionally replacing conical *kirīṭa* of other deities.	As in Early Chalukyan.

[1] For description see p. 111.
[2] For description see p. 108.
[3] For description see p. 107.
[4] For description see pp. 59, 105.
[5] For description see p. 105.

ITEM.	BHARHUT. (2nd century B.C.)	AJANTA. (2nd century B.C.)	AMARAVATI, 1st period. (2nd century B.C.)	SANCHI. (2nd century B.C.)	AMARAVATI, 2nd period c.a 100 A.D.
Udarabandha.[1] (male figures only).	Very rare in early sculptures and unknown from any of these schools. When present a simple band (pl. ii, fig. 2 a).				
Suvarna Vaikakshaka or *Channavira.*[2]	On women only slender cord of gold with circular gem-set clasps in front of shoulders and hips and between breasts.	As at Bharhut ...	......	On women as at Bharhut, but not always present. Sometimes also on dwarfs but then without clasps.	......
Yajñopavita.[3]	Upper cloth worn in *yajñopavita* fashion by men.	......	As at Bharhut ...	As at Bharhut, or absent.	Absent.
Anklet (for women).	Multicoiled band reaching half way to knee, sometimes with single large anklet on each leg beneath it.	As at Bharhut ...	Multicoiled heavy anklet.	Multicoiled band as at Bharhut but reaching knee ; or single large anklet ; or both.	Multicoiled heavy anklet, or circular plate above two large anklets.
Pose ...	Stiff pose without flexions.	Less stiff than at Bharhut	As at Bharhut ...	Not quite natural but less stiff than at Bharhut.	Poses more natural with greater flexion.
Miscellaneous characteristics.	Feet placed unnaturally with heels together.	......	Do. ...	As at Bharhut or more natural.	Feet more natural from this period onwards.
	Fingers awkward and stiff.	As at Bharhut, sometimes more natural.	Do. ...	Fingers slightly more natural.	Fingers still more natural from this period
	Hands in *añjali* held awkwardly to one side.	As at Bharhut ...	Do. ...	Hands in *añjali* pose slightly more natural.	*Hands* in *añjali* pose natural from this period.

[1] Band round stomach.

[2] Crossed bands or threads on body.

[3] Sacred thread.

Mathura Kushan, 1st and 2nd centuries, A.D.	Amaravati, 3rd period, 2nd century, A.D.	Amaravati, 4th period 3rd century, A.D.	Gupta, 300—600 A.D.	Early Chalukyan, 6th and 7th centuries A.D.	Pallava, 7th and 8th centuries A.D.
......	On dwarf yakshas only. Flowing ribbon-shaped band.	Simple jewelled band.	Only in warriors. Situated just below central clasp of *channavīra*.[1]	Jewelled band.	Jewelled band.
......	On women as at Bharhut. On warriors in *vaikakshaka* form above three bands on stomach.	As at Bharhut ...	As at Bharhut but on warriors as well as on women.	As at Bharhut.	As at Bharhut but cord thicker, clasps absent.
Absent ...	Absent ...	When present, long dangling, composed of strings of pearls. Worn by women as well as by men.	As in Amaravati 4th period.	As in Amaravati 4th period but much more generally used.	Much as in Amaravati 4th period, but somewhat shorter with pearls not clearly shown. For Bhairava skulls replace pearls, while Dakshinamurti wears Vastra.
Multi-coiled band of varying height, above two large anklets.	Multi-coiled band nearly reaching knee, above one or two large anklets.	Either less extensive and slender multi-coiled band, or a circular plate, always with two large anklets below with or without small bells.	Single *pādasara* shaped anklet.	Single anklet with small bells or string of gems.	Single large anklet.
Flexions and beautiful poses.	As at Mathura Kushan.	As at Mathura Kushan.	As in Kushan and later Amaravati sculptures.	Flexions rather more rigid.	Much as in early Chalukyan.
......	......	......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......	......	......

[1] Crossed bands or threads on body.

ITEM.	BHARHUT.	AJANTA.	AMARAVATI, 1st period.	SANCHI.	AMARAVATI 2nd period, c a. 100 A.D.
	2nd century B.C				
Miscellaneous characteristics—*cont.*	Navel crudely indicated by depression with lines proceeding in four directions.	......	As at Bharhut.	Navel sometimes natural and sometimes as at Bharhut.	Navel natural from this period.
	Face dull, eyes, slightly aslant, and lips coarsely bevelled.	Facial features somewhat as at Bharhut but more natural.	Facial features as at Bharhut.	Face still dull, eyes and lips not quite natural yet.	Face more pleasing from this period.
	Figures heavy ...	Figures as at Bharhut.	Figures as at Bharhut.	Figures somewhat as at Bharhut.	Figures light, slim and natural.
Motifs—Garland.	*Kalpavalli* meandering creeper with leaves and flowers emerging from elephant's mouth, with jewels,etc., issuing from it. Zigurats, lotus petals, bells and net work form border decoration(oncoping).	......	Thick rolls emerging from mouths of makaras and dwarfs, supported by dwarf bearers at intervals. Bells and lotus petals form border decoration and half blown lotuses occupy the hollows (on coping).	*Kalpavalli* meandering creeper with leaves and flowers emerging from the mouth or navel of dwarf yaksha. Jewels issue from it. (On lintels of torana, etc.)	......
Makara ...	Realistic crocodile face with terrible teeth, elongate jaws and curled snout. Two front legs, fins and scales present.	......	Much as at Bharhut.	Much as at Bharhut.	......
Dwarf yaksha ...	Short but natural. Wears turban.	......	Short and unnatural with pointed ears. Wears shorts, a beautiful turban, and a necklet composed of cord and single elongate gem. Ganesa type occurs.	Short and unnatural, with scowling face. Turban absent, short curly hair present. Wears shorts. Long stalks issue from mouth and navel.	......

Mathura Kushan, 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.	Amaravati, 3rd period, 2nd century A.D.	Amaravati, 4th period, 3rd century A.D.	Gupta, 300—600 A.D.	Early Chalukyan, 6th and 7th centuries A.D.	Pallava, 7th and 8th centuries A.D.
......	......	......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......	......	......
Figures natural and very beautiful.	Figures much as in Kushan sculpture.	Figures much as in Kushan sculpture.	Figures much as in Kushan sculpture.	Figures heavier than Gupta ones which formed their main source.	Figures heavy but lovely, based mainly on Amaravati figures.
Thick roll sometimes emerging from navel of dwarf carried by diminutive bearers. Flowers and leaves in the hollows. (On coping.)	Thick roll with separated strands issues from the mouth of makara or dwarf yaksha, carried at intervals by lovely normally proportioned bearers, generally male, sometimes assisted by female companions. (On coping.)	......	......	......	......
Much as at Bharhut.	Ears, snout and contour of face all changed. Front legs present in some cases, horns added sometimes above eyes.	......	......	Slowly develops into a land animal with snout like that of an elephant, four short legs, and tail of florid decorative pattern.	......
......	Short and titanic. Sometimes pleasing with fine turban and jewels. Wears either warrior's *vaikakshaka* on treble belt or *udarabandha* cloth with flowing ends. Sometimes without above but with five balls on his head.	Short and quaint, sometimes with animal head on stomach.	Short and quaint but with lovely face and a head on stomach sometimes.	As in Gupta. (As Sivaganas.)	As in Gupta. (As Sivaganas.)

AMARAVATI ART, ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM.

THE ART OF THE AMARAVATI SCULPTURES.

The art of the sculptors of Amaravati is a noble expression of great genius. It is of various periods but at every stage it is above provincial barriers and cribbed outlook. Like all great art it is national rather than provincial. As worthy successors of the sculptors of the imperial Mauryan court, honoured in the courts of succeeding dynasties, they produced an undying art and inspired other sculptors and painters in the realm to work in the classical style that was so favoured in the heart of the empire. The Satavahana monarchs, like the Sungas, were the political successors of the Mauryas and the art of which the traditions had been carried to the farthest ends of the vast empire of Asoka by his emissaries was fostered by Simuka and Krshna as assiduously as by Gautamiputra or Yajnasri. The vast territory of the Satavahana kings formed a great empire and art in that region was imperial. There is as great a link between art at Amaravati about the first two centuries A.D. and contemporary art at Nasik or Kanheri, as between the earliest fragments from Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta and the Bharhut railing.

The ramifications of the great imperial art of the Mauryas are best understood when centuries later its evolution is marked by the common heredity shown by examples of the sculptor's and painter's work in such distant places as Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta, Bharhut and Sanchi, Ajanta and Bagh, and beyond the seas at Borabudur. It has been a long succession from Mauryan to Sunga and Andhra, Kushan and Gupta. Gupta Vakataka traditions inspired early Chalukyan and Vishnukundin while Andhra traditions inspired Pallavas; and Pallava traditions have travelled to Borabudur and other places beyond the seas. Andhra or Satavahana art to be properly understood has to be studied from this point of view. It is not isolated and it is not in any way specially Southern or Dravidian. Just as Magadhi or Pali was the official language for all the early inscriptions throughout India, so the same traditions were in vogue in all parts of the country. The most minute details, even pose and ornament have been almost alike in places quite remote but linked together by a common king, common taste, and common traditions.

It is surprising to see that the kundalas of a king carved at Amaravati are identical with actual jewels of the same period found at *Takshaśilā* (Taxila). It was not as if a stray student from here and there visited Takshasila and returned home with ideas of a nagaraka's taste and fashion in the place. For, it is not a single instance of such an ornament at Amarávati. It is carved on the ears of numerous figures. The ornament was a common feature of the first two centuries of the Christian era. Earlier still there was a peculiar ear ornament whose form is identical in Bharhut and Amaravati. It is of the second century B.C. or earlier and it was in fashion during the Mauryan and Andhra-Sunga period. Even the position of the necklace on the figures has something striking in its identical twist in the early paintings of

cave x of Ajanta, early fragments of Amaravati, Sanchi and Bharhut (pl. i, fig. 1 a, b, c). The turban at Amaravati that Burgess has so often referred to as Andhra has nothing specially Andhra about it. It is the Indian turban of the time. As at Amaravati so at Ajanta; as at Bharhut so at Sanchi; they are all one.

The woman in the early paintings at Ajanta is just a reflected image of figures from Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati. The narrow strip of ornamental cloth that flows over the head occurs in all these places and the central gem at the *sīmanta* or the parting of the hair above the forehead, cannot be missed in any (pl. i, fig. 1 a, b, c). Headgear in one place is not unlike headgear in another and varieties are not wanting.

And as to pose and form instances can be enumerated to show resemblances. The development has been gradual in the conception of beauty and pose. Flexions are not as numerous in early sculptures. A certain primitiveness is obvious in this early art all over the country and grace in form is yet to appear; but this does not mean any incapacity of the artist for there have been occasions when even the artist of Bharhut and early Ajanta has in moments of inspired work created masterpieces with exquisite expression. The bewitching look of Culakoka from Bharhut (Cunningham 1, pl. xxiii, fig. 3) may well rival the enigmatic smile of a Mona Lisa and without doubt is a unique piece of extant indigenous work fashioned by the chisel of the most primitive native sculptors known to us.

Centuries of stiff and rigid sculpture in Egypt lacking in variety of pose and flexion had culminated in the splendid art of Greece that was at its best in the Periclean age when a Pheidias could rival a Polycleitus and shape his masterpieces. Similarly at Amaravati. The rather rigid figures of Bharhut gradually shaped themselves into forms in innumerable *bhangas* (flexions) with soft features full of grace. Anatomy was studied as a fine art and the principles governing human form were applied but with this essential Indian principle as a guiding factor—that no figure should be worked with sharp angular features suggestive, of physical strength.

The essential delicacy of feminine form is quite clear in all indigenous Indian work as at Amaravati, Mathura and Sanchi. The Amazonian women of the Gandhara sculptures are absent at Amaravati. Even the *pratīharī* who is described by Bana as fearful but yet beautiful—fearful because of her amazonian nature and the terrible sword that she forcefully wields to protect the king, her master, and beautiful because of her exquisite grace—has all the soft features characteristic of the feminine—the soft contour, the attenuated waist the broad hip and easy gait and pose (pl. vi, fig. 11). The form of woman at Amaravati is tender, creeper-like, and her body contour is rich in curves that undulate in large sweeps to suggest the full breasts and broad waist-zone with the waist lost between them, the soft tapering thighs and arms long and slender. As the royal poet Sri Harsha has observed (Nagananda Act iii, 6) so it is with these women of Amaravati whose ornaments almost tire their frail yet charming bodies by their weight.

The sculptor well knew that women have their idiosyncrasies and has studied them carefully. The way in which the woman in Amaravati sculpture sits (pl. ii, fig. a) or stands (pl. ii, fig. 0) or reclines (pl. 1, fig. 2 a) is at once suggestive of ease and is essentially Indian. It is always the classical soft and slow movement (*alasagamana*) and her gait is full of *vibhrama* or charm (pl. i, fig. 3 a). Her every item of toilet is treated with delicacy by the sculptor. Softly she sees her reflection, as she combs her hair, mirror in hand (pl. ix, fig. 17); gaily she adorns her ear with the kundala (pl. viii; fig. 23); lounging in her couch she awaits her maids deck her in all her ornaments (pl. xxvii, fig. 1). Everywhere feminine vanity has been so flattered by the sculptor that the dictum of the Vishnudharmottara *striyo bhūshanamicchanti* has been well anticipated in advance.

The youth of Amaravati is a *nāgaraka*,[1] comely in appearance and a gentleman. The easy pose of the king and noble that reveal the germ of the future textual poses *mahārājalīla* (sportive kingly poses) or *sukhāsana* (seat at ease) is as characteristic (pl. v. fig. 12; pl. xxxiii, fig 3 b) in these sculptures as the reverential attitude of servant and slave or the vigorous and stiff attitude of a person with ire aroused. The warrior in action at Amaravati is a splendid creation of Indian artistic genius. The fighting scene (pl. lvi, fig. 1) is damaged but enough remains to show how full of action it is; the sculptor is at once capable of showing the languid queen in her pregnancy (pl. 1, fig. 2 a) and the vigorous attack of the warrior on the field (pl. x, fig. 13); it shows him as a master for the depiction of every phase of human emotion and its outward manifestation.

The battle scene is an orchestra of clanging weapons of steel all at once in rapid action. Slow and obvious effort showing a tug and thrust where the least change in the lineament of face or body suggests the force employed is not easily expressed on stone or canvas and any such depiction must be considered easily a triumph of a master; and among many sculptures that can easily be taken as examples of this difficult execution we have two pieces, one showing a thick garland thrust into the unwilling throat of a dwarf (pl. li, fig. 2) and the other a similar garland being pulled out of a crocodile's mouth (pl. lvi, fig. 2). The effort of a woman in the latter who is almost collapsing in attempting the impossible is a silent commentary on the word *abalā* or the weak one (connoting a woman).

Tumultuous scenes showing the fright of common people and ladies in the harem require a treatment different from the dignified fight of trained warriors in battle whose one ambition on the field is glorious death and warriors' heaven. The scene of Nalagiri's havoc in the streets of Rajagrha is a noteworthy example of the sculptor's study of human nature (pl. xxv, fig. 1). Amidst the hysterical shrieks of frightened women and the bewildered looks of faint-hearted men to whom cling the bodies of a frailer sex in abject alarm, rushes along the mad elephant tearing and trampling everyone on his way, but rapidly the scene changes, and the huge beast that was only a few minutes ago creating terror and utter

[1] A man courteous, proficient in fine arts and with the taste of a connoisseur.

confusion in the crowded streets of Rajagrha is prostrate at the feet of a simple and noble figure—Buddha. These two utterly different forces of human activity.—uncontrolled confusion and controlled calm so cleverly balanced in the same picture from two scenes in one—a synoptic method which the sculptor of Amaravati like other early sculptors delighted to introduce where it would be most effective.

There is another kind of disorderly grouping where joy reigns supreme. A festival is an occasion for the expression of such exuberant emotion. Here the Amaravati sculptor has introduced order in chaos and shown that expression of joy is in itself an expression of beauty which consists of orderliness. Symmetry and balance being the two factors that make up this ideal picture we find figures grouped effectively to produce this in the medallion showing the scene of the adoration of the bowl by the gods in the Trayastrimsa heaven (pl. xxvi. fig. 1).

Nature has revealed to the artist at Amaravati her most fascinating phases and he has not in vain studied her charming aspects and moods. Hills and dales, lakes and forests, have been carved in as natural a manner as the limitations of sculpture can allow. Every technique has its limitations. These limitations bring in conventions. Such conventions are healthy and account for the progress of art ; and they have to be distinguished carefully from conventions that characterise decadent art. There is convention in the representation of hair as lumps of marble in the best art of Greece and there is the stiff and conventionalised form in Byzantine art of a later day. Both are conventions but the difference is obvious. Similarly everywhere and in India.

How can water be represented except by ripples, waves, fishes, tortoises and shells ? Thus arose the convention of representing the vast expanse of water in the ocean and flowing water in a river or stream. But to depict water in small tanks, pools, lakes and pleasure-ponds, especially in the last, a different convention has to be used. The lotuses here come to the artist's aid (pl. xxvi, fig. 2). Lotuses abound only in such water. And everything beautiful is suggested by the introduction of the lotus. Not without reason has Sri or the goddess of beauty, wealth, and auspiciousness chosen the lotus as her abode. The sculptors at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati had all this in their mind when they beautified the stupa with the lotuses and introduced Sri to adore her and assure themselves of her good wishes in the execution of the *motif*, her seat, in all their sculptures. Like the modern Futurist who is not content with depicting a single moment of action but introduces multiple forms to suggest motion the sculptor of Amaravati not satisfied with the meticulous care he has bestowed on the flower with its innumerable petals and pistils, and leaf with its network of ribs, has introduced also small bees that hover above and suggest sweet fragrance (pl. lxi, fig. 1).

The sculptor here has so thoroughly studied animals that their form is reproduced by him without the least effort in a naive but natural manner. The elephants in the medallion representing Chaddanta Jataka are in various attitudes all throbbing with life (pl. xxvi, fig. 2). The elephants are perfect specimens of their kind with a dignity all their own, and there is nothing incongruous in the parasol held over the leader of the herd—a devise chosen by

the wise sculptor to indicate the royal status of the animal; the deer here are lovely little animals, rather timid, whose frail form and pose full of grace is as characteristic of them as the domineering look of the majestic lion, the lord of beasts, or the stupid stare of the thickset boars shown issuing from their lairs.

The stone carver at Amaravati was as much a peasant at heart as a courtier in his taste. He knew the simple life of the poor and the grandeur of the court. He was at once at home in carving representations of the poor man's hut, the royal palace or the storied monastery of the monks of the Order. The chisel of the sculptor has worked with as great a sympathy at the lowly hut with its thatched roof and simple windows and doors (pl. xi. fig. 16) as with awe and solemnity at the mighty city gateways (pl. xi, fig. 7) and royal storied mansions or as with love and reverence at the dwellings of monks (pl. xv, fig. 1) and their sacred shrines (pl. lix, fig. 2).

Life has not been an empty dream with these masters. It was full of throbbing interest for them and they studied it closely. The life of the period was rich. Every item of daily life was based on the principles of the aesthete. As men of cultivated taste the sculptors knew the rich store of artistic material around them and transferred it all into imperishable forms on marble. We thus know of the life of the age in all its details—the dress they wore, the ornaments they loved, the furniture they used, the houses they occupied, the courtesies they observed, the battles they fought—in short the life they lived.

In art as in poetry suggestion and utterance are the two most important factors. The former undoubtedly is superior to the latter. The best art has always something to feed the imagination of the spectator. Not so the latter that stops with what it has to say when it is said. But not all art can be suggestive. Obvious factors cannot be suggested and there are occasions where suggestion alone matters. A master knows his needs and adopts his mode of expression accordingly. The sculptor at Amaravati knew what he was about as only a master can know and the results can be seen on the marbles which he worked.

There are methods of suggestion; suffice it for us to consider two of them here—suggestion of form and suggestion of sense. There are so many examples that a few will suffice. Suggestion of form is suggestion by the lineaments of the body when it is under the complete sway of emotion or when a great being so overwhelms every emotion that rises in his bosom that only his glorious personality in its perfect equilibrium and calm is observed. An example of the first is the figure of Udayana, bow in band with his anger aroused (pl. xxxi, fig. 1). Another is the noble elephant Chaddanta, the lord of the herd entitled to a parasol whose tender submission to the heartless worm of a hunter is out of sheer compassion (pl. xxvi, fig. 2). The animal, whose gigantic form appears a repository of as much compassion, kneels at the feet of a mere dwarf whose villainy in cutting the tusks is in proportion quite the reverse to his puny form. The medallion representing the elephant Nalagiri offers a

third example. He is shown rushing furiously along but a calm and dignified figure is at the other end with the beast kneeling before him (pl. xxv, fig. 1). The people in the balcony above are an interpretation of the change of scene and activity in the composition. A look of wonder at the confused crowd afraid of the intoxicated beast is obvious in the faces of the people in the part of the balcony immediately above this scene, but at the extreme left above where Buddha stands, the thrilled spectator instinctively brings his hands into an attitude of reverence to that great soul whose personality was enough to control the most exuberant of passions even in others and that in an unintelligent beast. Another and a rather novel example of suggestion of malignant form is to be found in a carving showing Buddha's triumph over Mara and his hosts (pl. ix, fig. 1). The expression in every one of the dwarfs is sufficiently arresting but yet there is something far superior to anything in the piece, an idea at once brilliant and unique. Later artists have copied it and as a vital thing it has lived through centuries. The searchy eyes of a fierce beast look out of a lion's face carved dexterously on a dwarf's stomach as a manifestation of the morbid feelings therein nurtured.

The figure of Buddha in the Temptation scene is itself very suggestive. While the hosts of Mara, that attack Buddha to wean him away from his great resolve to attain supreme enlightenment, form an important feature in the Temptation scene in the carvings and paintings from Gandhara, Benares, Ajanta, etc., they are not given that prominence at Amaravati (see top centre pl. lix, fig. 2), and rightly. The host dwindles into insignificance and is represented by three dwarf yakshas grovelling under the throne of the Supreme One. The large-sized figure of Buddha does not and cannot throw the slightest hint suggestive of the sculptor's lack of knowledge of proportions and perspective in drawing. The mighty power of Buddha to crush all opposition by his strong will and the supreme incapacity of the Evil One to overcome the Blessed One is typified by the suggestive representation of the giant and the pygmy. The women (*māravadhvah*) are on the other hand carved in moderate proportions. They are rightly given prominence. The gait, the delicate features and the graceful poise (*angabhanga*) of every one of them has engaged the careful attention of the sculptor who has spared himself no pains to lavish ravishing beauty on the women to show to the world how great was the temptation. That is of course the praise of Buddha through the chisel. Overcoming the host was a comparatively easy task compared to the unruffled composure in the presence of ravishing beauty and temptation. Rightly has Kalidasa said *vikārahetau sati vikriyante yeshām na cetāmsi ta eva dhīrāh* (Kumarasambhava i, 59) "they alone are really great whose mind is unperturbed even in the presence of active cause therefor."

Suggestion of sense in art is as interesting as it is novel. The earliest visual expression of idea by man has been through figures—ideographs. The method has in some way or other lingered through centuries and has, as we find from instances in literature, served a

most fascinating aid to lovers to suggest their feelings, thoughts, circumstances and possible trysts. But to the sculptor at Amaravati the method had a higher purpose to serve. He used it almost as a sacred language. The earliest known art in India has been symbolical and every symbol suggests something definite. As in all other early Buddhist sculptures, here also Buddha has been represented symbolically by footprints (pl. iv, figs. 32 and 33) or the three-pronged sign (*triśūla*) on a flaming pillar (pl. iv, fig. 34). In scenes where the reflective prince Siddhartha flees from the palace the sculptor merely raises an umbrella over the horse Kanthaka and the presence of the prince is suggested (pl. xix, fig. 1 a). But the most unique suggestion seems to be that of Bodhgaya—Gayasisa. A bull's head suffices to suggest the term Gayasisa and a chakra or wheel which stands for Buddha's dharma and which is the essence of his knowledge or *bodhi* completes the name of this famous place where Buddha attained his sambodhi or enlightenment (pl. lxiii, fig. 1 b). Mrgadava or the deer park near Benares where Buddha preached his dharma for the first time is suggested by the figures of deer—*mṛga*—(pl. lxiii, fig. 1 c). The principal events of Buddha's life are all represented by symbols that suggest them. As Foucher has explained even the taurine symbol and the lion have their significance (Foucher 1, pl. 1 and explanation).

The education of the sculptor in the empire of the Satavahanas was not confined to the methods of chiselling. He was well read in literature and knew well many of the allied arts. The scene depicting Siddhartha's departure (to the extreme right of the frieze above the stupa on a casing slab, pl. lix, fig. 2) is a splendid example of how the sculptor has immortalised the sleeping harem as described by India's first and most revered poet, Valmiki, whom a poet who just preceded the sculptor in age, Asvaghosha, completely echoed in describing similar theme in the palace of prince Siddhartha. Every verse of Valmiki with descriptions of damsels sleeping, hugging each a musical instrument, has its counterpart in Asvaghosha and every attitude herein described has a visualised picture in miniature carved on the slab by the sculptor in a manner that even Valmiki may feel honoured. The description of the noble ladies of Ravana's harem asleep is interesting for comparison with the sculpture; "The slender-waisted wives of the sovereign of the Rakshasas, overcome with languour consequent on drink and amorous encounter, were fast asleep at the very places where they were seated. And another transcendentally beautiful damsel possessed of lovely limbs, skilled in dance, was fast asleep, betraying comely movements (during sleep). And another was seen asleep, embracing a *vīṇa*, like a lotus with spreading petals, resting by the side of a raft. And another dark-eyed wench was asleep with her *maḍḍuka* on her lap, like a loving mother having a boy. Another damsel possessed of graceful limbs and a shapely bust was lying down, hugging her kettledrum, like a woman embracing her lover, obtained after a long time. And one lotus-eyed female was asleep embracing her *vīṇā*; like an amorous damsel hugging her fair paramour. And another girl of restrained self,

given to dancing, had come under the sway of sleep, embracing her *vipañcī* like a female sleeping with her lover. And another having inebriate eyes, was fast asleep, embracing her *mṛdanga* with her charming, plump, and tender limbs, resembling gold. Another female of faultless features, endued with a slender frame, having been overcome by lassitude consequent on drink, was asleep, with her *paṇava* on the ends of her lower garment, held fast with her hands. Another woman was sleeping soundly embracing her *diṇḍima*, with another bound at her back, like a female taking both her lover and her child. Another damsel having eyes resembling lotus-petals, having come under the influence of liquor, was asleep, firmly holding her *āḍamvara* with her hands." (Dutt's translation, pp. 919–920.)

Other features in the sculptures are reminiscent of the description in the epics. The *īhāmṛgas* or animals of phantasy are visual records of their literary descriptions. The lion-faced mules described in the Ramayana (vi, 51, 28) are actually ridden by yaksha attendants of both Punnaka and Mara in the sculptures. The peculiar fish with fore-part of elephant or horse and hind part of fish is the *Gajavaktra jhasha* and *Mīnavāji* (Mahabharata iii, 173, 50).

Among architectural *motifs* these and many others, like the Atlantes Yakshas, rows of geese and of lovely ladies like the early Bharhut and Jaggayapetta yakshis, are after descriptions in epics (see Sivaramamurti 1, pp. 90–92). The Gajalakshmi *motif* that occurs on the Bharhut gateway is reminiscent of the Lakshmi on the lotus carrying lotuses and attended by elephants carved on the gateway of Ravana's Pushpaka (Ramayana v, 7, 14).

The Ramayana describes Kabandha as huge, headless and devoid of neck, with his face on his stomach (iii, 69, 27). The sculptor of Amaravati has made an exceedingly interesting study of this subject and created a visual form of an evil one with head on stomach so cleverly introduced that with his normal head above the shoulders he looks at first sight in no way different from his comrades that attack Buddha. This strange creature occurring in the Temptation scene in a sculpture of the third century A.D. at Amaravati (pl. lx. fig. 1) has inspired many other sculptors of later date and for nearly six centuries the *motif* was popular. Contemporary sculptors working elsewhere close by as at Ghantasala, and sculptors of a later date like those of the Guptas, Vakatakas and Pallavas have immortalized the *motifs* (pl. iii, fig. 5 a, b, c, d, e, f). Thus an epic tradition has persisted through the ingenuity of an intelligent sculptor, versed in the literary traditions of his land. And when we remember the great position occupied by the Puranas, long lists of whose heroes are given in the Satavahana inscriptions for impressing the greatness of the king by comparison to them, it is easy to understand how they inspired the sculptors.

The art traditions of the Satavahanas are great. They are the results of the development of art all over the land for ages. This early pan-Indian art unity accounts for similitude of details in concepts, like the Yakshi carrying food and water occurring at Mathura and

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Amaravati (see pl. i, fig. a, b). Simultaneously draped but yet nude figures occur at Mathura and Amaravati (Vogel 1, pl. xix and pl. xxiii, fig. 2 of this book). Early figures from Bharhut, Amaravati and Cave x of Ajanta go together (pl. i, fig. 1 a, b, c.). Note the turbans, necklets, ear-rings, facial features, and position of hands joined in adoration. The fan-shaped headgear of the *Vṛkashakā* at Sanchi has its counterpart in Mathura and Amaravati (pl. i. fig. 2 a, b, c). The same standard of a princely figure is maintained at Polonoruva as at Amaravati (pl. i, fig. 6 a, b), and we know from the inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda how closely the monks in the Krishna valley came together with those in Tambapanni or Ceylon. Executed in the realm of the same king, sculpture in the eastern territory has its parallel in the western territory ; and figures from Amaravati agree with those at Karle (pl. i, fig. 5 a, b).

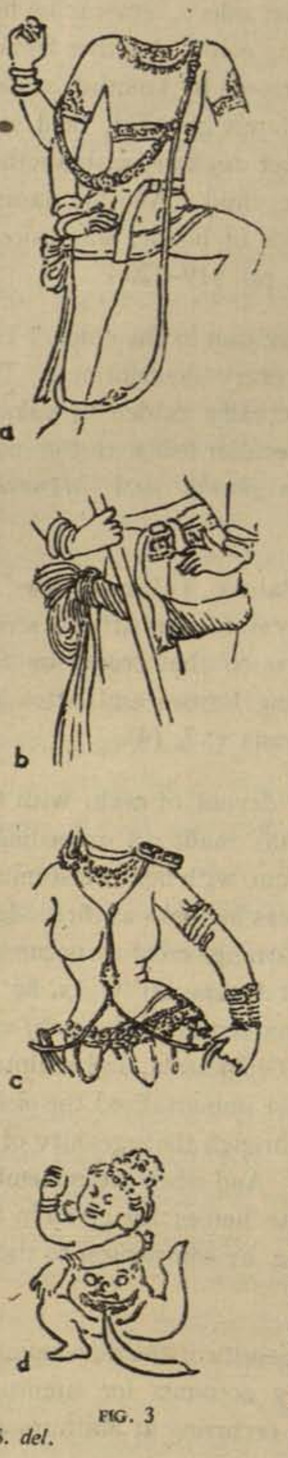

FIG. 3

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And Amaravati art that continued and fostered earlier traditions, itself inspired later art. The dynasties that succeeded the Satavahanas carried on the traditions of their predecessors. And in the Ajanta caves many a pose of the painted figures are echoes of the Amaravati figures (pl. ii; figs. a, b ; c, d ; e, f ; g, h ; i, j ; k, l ; m, n ; o, p) ; only the decorative element chiefly composed of pearls and ribbons so characteristic of Gupta sculpture is here an addition to the simpler but yet noble sculpture of Amaravati.

In the Chalukyan sculptures the Satavahana tradition is continued through their immediate Gupta-Vakataka sources and the long *muktāyajñopavīta*, jewelled *udarabandha*, twisted cloth below the waist, and *suvarṇavaikakshaka* for women are excellent examples. The *motif* of head on stomach of dwarf also occurs in Chalukyan sculpture. Many good examples are found in the early caves at Badami (fig. 3 a, b, c and d).

But for the Linga at Gudimallam in Chittoor district there is no early specimen of sculpture in the vicinity of Tamil land yet discovered. But its existence as a solitary representation of an early Hindu deity of the 2nd century B. C., in the reign of the Hindu Satavahana kings, gives the hope that there may be others yet to be discovered. The same Satavahana tradition that accounts for the execution of this figure was fostered in the Krishna valley in later centuries and persisted there during the time of the Vishnukundins in the sixth century A D. It is from them, as

Prof. G. J. Dubreuil has pointed out, that the Pallava cave temples with their sculptures beginning with the early ones of Mahendravarman have their origin.

Figures in identical poses are to be found at Ajanta and Mahabalipuram, both inspired undoubtedly by those from Amaravati (pl. i, fig. 3 a, b, c). The development of almost all the decorations in Pallava figures, from which it is easy to trace in succeeding epochs, is a long and interesting story from about the Mauryan period. The *vastrayajñopavīta* such as is worn by the Patna yaksha covers the shoulder of the Kaveripakkam Dakshinamurti figured by Gopinatha Rao and now in the Madras Museum (pl. iii, fig. 1 a, b, c). The *suvarṇavaikakshaka* of Culakoka at Bharhut adorns the Gajalakshmi at Mahabalipuram (pl. iii, fig. 4 a, b, c). The *udarabandha* of the Parkham Yaksha is found in the same form with ribbon knot and flowing tassels on the stomach of a dwarf Gana at Mahabalipuram (pl. iii, fig. 2 a, b, c). The usual *udarabandha* has also a simultaneous stepping into period after period of history. The ribbon on the waist of the Yakshas at Bharhut continues on the waist of figures in the Trichinopoly cave temple of Mahendravarman 1 (pl. iii, fig. 3 a, b, c). And in every one of these caves the transmission of the tradition was through the chisel of the Satavahana sculptor. The Amaravati figures come between the earlier and the later ones.

The visitor to Mahabalipuram may note that queer animals like lions with human and acquiline heads squat at one end of the Govardhanagiridhara Krshna mandapa. The sculptures have an ancestry that has to be traced back to Amaravati (pl. iii, fig. 7). Similarly in the central cell of the Mahishasuramardani cave the Somaskanda group is seated on a lion throne which is a replica of the throne of the kings and Bodhisattvas at Amaravati (pl. iii, fig. 8). The *kirīta* worn by Vishnu in the early Pallava sculptures is shaped like a jewelled cylinder. Its origin has to be traced back to the crown of Sakka in the Amaravati sculptures where it is his distinguishing mark, no other bearing it (pl. iii, fig. 6 d, e). The most interesting of these and many other survivals of Amaravati traditions in Pallava sculpture is the type of Buddha's head with *ushnisha* and cluster of curls which actually adorns the head of a lovely cowherd milking the cow in the Krshna mandapa at Mahabalipuram (pl. iii 9). The halo round the head of Buddha has survived in the Chalukyan sculptures where it has been highly embellished after the traditions of the Guptas and Vakatakas, but it has not been much favoured in the Pallava territory being restricted to Surya whose special characteristic it has become. The jewelled throne with makara head at either end of the top piece from the frame of its back is more frequently seen in Chalukyan sculpture where it has been favoured, occurring only occasionally in Pallava sculptures. The *cūdā-makara* a head-ornament of women at Amaravati has come to adorn the front of some of the best early Chola kiritas of deities. The lion on the crown first seen in the third century sculpture of Amaravati (pl. viii, 25) continues and becomes a beautiful *motif* in early Chola

sculptures like the dvarapalakas of the Kilayur temple in South Arcot district or at the Brhadisvara temple at Tanjore. The chubby little dwarfs who follow Mara in the Amaravati sculptures develop into the quaint but yet lovely Sivaganas of the Pallava sculptures dancing in as many odd fashions as at Amaravati (pl. i; Annual Report of the Madras Museum for 1938–39). The apparently nude feminine figures of Amaravati suggesting the transparency of their apparel persist at Mahabalipuram in the lovely figures of women that are very much after their early sources and the figures of men are not also different (pl. i; 3 a, b, c).

Thus the art traditions of Amaravati have travelled south and enriched Pallava sculpture. From the magnificent carvings at Mahabalipuram we have many a *motif* to observe and study. Mahabalipuram was the sea-port of the Pallava monarchs. The art that was inspired by the Amaravati traditions travelled from here beyond the seas and determined the style of sculptures far away in Java and other places. As the simple Brahmi script developed into the florid Grantha script of the Pallavas of the seventh century A.D. so has Pallava sculpture developed from the simpler but beautiful art of Amaravati, acquiring a richer but still a restrained elaboration of ornamentation a parallel of which is found in Barabudur and Prambanam.

THE FIGURE OF BUDDHA AND BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

Introduction

The earliest representations of Buddha are symbolical, the symbol employed always including a pair of feet and often consisting merely of the feet. This is common in sculpture at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya and Amaravati and was the way Buddha was worshipped before the representation of his person came into vogue. The origin of the figure of Buddha has been a subject of great controversy and its true nature is not yet established with certainty. The symbols of Buddha are a great problem. Why was Buddha worshipped thus? Were there not images before Buddha's time? Why was an image of Buddha not made if there were images of other gods and great personalities? The answers to these questions should explain the absence of Buddhist images among the early sculptures and throw light on the circumstances that led to the appearance of the physical form of the Enlightened One in sculpture of a later date.

SYMBOLS *vs.* IMAGES.

Buddha was a great preacher and ranks among the greatest of souls, the gentlest, the noblest, and the best. But however great he may have been, and however much his name may be hallowed by the numerous legends that cluster round him, it cannot be gainsaid that he was a human being, the son of king Suddhodana and Mayadevi. In his time he was honoured as a *Mahāśramaṇa* or a great recluse. He was adored as much by his followers in his day as were the great rshis in the heyday of Hindu glory when a Janaka kept court

or a Rama walked the wilds. And if such sages as these could be represented in human form Buddha also could presumably be similarly represented. We must therefore enquire whether any figures of sages were moulded or chiselled in clay or stone in very early days. The grammarian Patanjali in explaining one of the sutras of Panini (iv, 1, 89) says that derived in a particular way the word Kasyapa must mean a statue of sage Kasyapa. Representations of sages in human form must therefore have existed in Patanjali's time. It is well established that Patanjali flourished during the reign of the Sunga king Agnimitra in the second century B.C. It is thus clear that such images were known at the very time when Buddha was being symbolically represented at Bharhut. What can be the reason for this? Surely it cannot be merely on the score of reverence to the Master when sages and seers as greatly honoured had their statues prepared. It is well known from the Mahabharata that Ekalavya prepared a figure of the sage whom he chose as his master though the sage would not teach him to wield the bow. Greater devotion to a master than that of Ekalavya to Drona is unrecorded. If there were the least question of profanation of the sacred person of the Master by a material representation of his form, Drona would undoubtedly have gone without a statue. Kalidasa, who is assigned to the Sunga period, makes use of a common phrase in Sanskrit *citrāvaśeshākṛti* (one whose form exists only in a picture) as a euphemistic way of denoting one who is dead (Raghuvamsa xiv, 15). This makes it clear that the memory of dead persons was commonly perpetuated by portraits. Bhasa (Pratimanataka Act iii, pp. 46-50)[1] mentions portrait statues, but this does not help us as his dramas have yet to be proved genuine. Portraits of great men dead or living were however clearly in use, of which the magnificient royal portrait sculptures of the Kushans still survive. Centuries after their time great kings like Ajatasatru and Udayana, contemporaries of the Master, were sculptured at Bharhut (Cunningham i, pl. xvi) and Amaravati (pl. xxxiv, fig. 1, pl. xxxv, figs. 1 and 2 and pl. 1, fig. 1). But in the same panel where Ajatasatru was depicted at Bharhut in a natural manner, the Master was suggested by a symbol. There must have been strong reason for this, and early representations of divinities offer a clue. Thus Surya was represented by a disc, Siva by his linga and Lakshmi by the Srivatsa symbol; and though Buddha was no more than a great Master during his lifetime yet after his death he was deliberately shown symbolically like a god, the new sect being perhaps conscious of its state of infancy and desirous of strengthening popular belief and heightening its own glory by depicting its Master like one of the many contemporary deities. Thus the thought that he was human was at first kept out of the minds of people but after sufficient time had elapsed and the religion had established itself Buddha came to be depicted in anthropomorphic form and even then never completely the symbol persisting to some extent even in Mathura. No doubt this satisfied popular feeling among people accustomed from their birth to images of Kubera, Vasudeva, Siva, Yakshas, etc., for the appeal of images similar to those of the highest deities known to them must have

[1] See also Aravamuthan, T. G. 1, ch. vii.

heightened their reverence for and strengthened their belief in the new faith that they had embraced. This probability is strengthened by the fact that images of Buddha prepared during his lifetime are recorded. One of his greatest royal devotees, Pasenadi Kosala, had a beautiful wooden statue of the Master prepared while Buddha was away in heaven to preach his Dharma to his mother Mayadevi. Many centuries later Hiuen Thsang saw this image (Beal 1, vol. i, p. xliv). Cunningham (1, p. 111) feels that as the fashion of representing the Master anthropomorphically was of later origin the image must have been just a suggestion through a wheel. Since other images were in use this explanation seems unnecessary. But even if correct it shows that the craving of the people for something akin to the representations of the deities adored at the time had to be satisfied if they were to be reconciled to the faith. It is this same necessity that accounts for the inclusion of Surya, Candra, Indra, Brahma, Kubera, Lakshmi and other gods and goddesses in the Buddhist pantheon, but to emphasise the importance of the Master their position was made of secondary importance. Though the earliest representations of Hindu deities yet known were not always symbolic—there were anthropomorphic, semi-anthropomorphic and symbolic representations[1]—the symbolic were the most mystic, suggestive of much that ordinary understanding could not comprehend. Even today symbolic worship prevails in the *yantra*,[2] and *meru*[3] forms of worship and in the *pancāyatana*[4] of orthodox Brahmans who do not greatly favour anthropomorphic representations.

Symbolic representation of the Master being favoured by his followers, they had a wide range of symbols from which to choose. Every symbol used by the Buddhist was pre-Buddhist. The feet, the overflowing vase, the throne, wheel, tree, stupa, parasol, flaming pillar, lotus, auspicious signs on feet, trisula, lion, bull, elephant, and various symbols such as *sirivaccha* and *svastika* are all pre-Buddhist. Similarly Buddha's *mahāpurusha-lakshaṇas* (marks of the greatest of men) are pre-Buddhist. The Buddhist books clearly reveal how completely they are saturated with pre-Buddhist notions. Mara and Rati (a daughter rather than the wife that the Hindu Rati is), Sakka and Suja (Saci with name slightly altered), Mahabrahma (with the addition of the prefix Maha), Surya deva and Candra deva, Pancasikha the musician, Matali the charioteer, Apsarases, such as Misrakesi and Urvasi, river goddesses including Ganga, tree spirits, nagas and suparnas, yakshas and rakshasas, the guardians of the quarters including Vaisravana, Kubera and Sri as goddess

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[1] The Gudimallam linga (early Andhra) includes both symbol and figure, and the Bhita linga (Sunga), symbol and heads. The Sunga image of Balarama in the Lucknow Museum is anthropomorphic. A Kushan linga from Mathura combiness symbol and figure. Surya and Siva from Bodhgaya (Sunga) are anthropomorphic Among the Kushan sculptures of Hindu deities in the Mathura Museum are anthropomorphic representations of Siva, Vasudeva, Gajalaksmi, Samkarshana and others. For the significance of the Gudimallam linga *see* Sivaramamurti 7.

[2] Metallic plate with mystic diagram and letters incised.

[3] Metallic representation in relief of mystic diagram and letters.

[4] Five important Hindu deities in their symbolic form.

of prosperity, are all earlier concepts utilized by the Buddhists. The gems of the cakravartin are nothing but the precious things that arose out of the milky ocean and which were mostly appropriated by Indra and Vishnu. The winged horse of the Valahassa breed, the elephant of the Uposatha class, the precious jewel, and the perfect queen are all echoes of Uccaisravas, Airavata, Kaustubha and Lakshmi. The wheel jewel is but the discus of Vishnu. Mandhata the greatest of emperors has been taken from the Mahabharata. Other borrowings, which include the stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata incorporated in the Jatakas, are too numerous to be mentioned and are already well known. Even personalities are the same, Vasudeva son of Devagabbha (slight modification of Devaki), Nandagopa, Kamsa, Baladeva, Dasaratha, Rama, Sita, Lakkhana, Yudhitthila, Ajjuna, Bhimasena, Nakula, Sahadeva, Kanha (Krshna, *i.e.*, Draupadi), Kanhadipayana, Animandavya, Isisinga and Vidhurapandita to mention a few. Familiar names like Koravya and Dhatarattha are also repeated though they do not signify the same person. Even place names are given in their proper associations. Vasudeva is born in Mathura and establishes himself in Dvaraka. Ayodhya is ruled by Dasaratha. With so many of the existing notions incorporated in their own thought the Buddhists similarly used existing symbols with great dexterity.

Bodhi Tree (Vrksha Caitya) Symbol of Yaksha and Vanadevata.

Vṛksha caityas were favourite popular objects of worship. The pipal tree, made so important in the Vibhuti adhyaya of thc Bhagavadgita where the Lord identifies Himself especially with it among trees, assumed an importance previously undreamt of when finally associated with Buddha himself. In depicting Buddha or the empty throne under the Bodhi tree, always with the emphasis on the tree, the popular craving for yaksha worship (generally under trees) and vanadevata worship or adoration of tree spirits was satisfied.

Symbols of Sovereignty.

The soothsayers, as is well known, predicted two things for Buddha, supreme sovereignty if he were a householder and Buddhahood if he became a monk. The thought of his sovereignty was always present in the minds of his followers who gave Buddha all the marks of a sovereign including wheel, throne and umbrella.

The wheel.—As a symbol of sovereignty it can be traced back to the earliest times. Dr. Fabri has an interesting article in the memorial volume for Mlle. Linossieur showing its very early occurrence in Persia and elsewhere (1, pp. 210—213). It is the idea of the moving of the wheel of sovereignty that gave rise to the word cakravartin. The wheel of power has always been held by Vishnu *Purushottama*, pre-eminent among *Purushas* as the protector of the universe. In Vishnu is embodied by Hindus the concept of the mightiest of monarchs even exceeding Indra the king of the gods. He wears the costliest yellow

silk, has all *mahāpurushalakshaṇas*, is marked by the *śrīvatsa* on his chest, and is the lord of Sri, the Lady of Prosperity in all her forms; his vehicle is Garuda, chief among the birds and his couch Sesha the lord of nagas. Indra and Brahma reverence him. His wheel, a symbol of the greatest of all has been transferred as a symbol of sovereignty to the cakravartin who is accepted in all Hindu books as partial incarnation of Vishnu. This wheel of the cakravartin was associated with Buddha whose spiritual dominance over princes and peasants alike was symbolically represented in his turning of the wheel of law though not of sovereignty. His dominance over all, like Vishnu's, compels devas including Sakka and Mahabrahma, and garudas and nagas to worship him. Even the naga couch of Vishnu is suggested by the Mucilinda incident.[1]

The lion throne (*Simhāsana*) is another very ancient symbol. On this, the king's seat Buddha is often seen in the sculptures. It is commonly associated with the *pādapīṭha* (foot-stool) so significant in the royal court as the object to be touched by the forehead of any vassal.

Sitacchattra or the white umbrella.—To achieve *ekacchattrādhipatya* or the dominance of a single umbrella over the universe was an ambition usual among powerful monarchs who set about on tours of conquest. Such an umbrella was held as prince Siddhartha departed from Kapilavastu on his horse Kanthaka; for he could have become supreme in the world in temporal power if he had chosen to remain a householder. It is the persistent thought of there having been the possibility of Buddha's becoming an emperor that accounts for the concept of the umbrella raised over him by Mahabrahma, while Indra waved the chauri, as the Master descended from heaven by the miraculous golden jewelled ladder.

SIRIVACCHA (see below, p. 83).

This is the symbol of Lakshmi or Sri, the lady of prosperity, and worn by Vishnu on his chest. Jains when adopting this symbol for their Tirthankaras to give them the status of Vishnu Purushottama, *i.e.*, the best of all (Vogel 1, pl. xxxvii) continued to depict it on the chest. But the Buddhists had to show it on the feet of their master instead, perhaps the chest often being covered by the cloak.

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[1] Discussing this 'seated on snake' type Coomaraswamy (10, p. 24) says "The Buddha and Jina type of
a seated or standing figure, sheltered by the expanded hoods of a polycephalous naga, and the similar Hindu type
(Vishnu Anantasayin—but not always reclining, there being a fine seated example in the Vaishnava Cave at Badami)
present a common interest. Here in the same way it would be usual to derive the Hindu from the Buddhist type;
but the converse is more probable. At any rate the Mahabharata story of Raja Adi in which the sleeping Drona is
found sheltered by a serpent's hoods is older than any possible Buddha figure. From this story is derived the place
name Ahicchatra, 'serpent-umbrella,' and as Cunningham suggests, the Buddhists probably took over the idea
from the Hindus".

MARKS OF THE GREATEST OF MEN (MAHAPURUSHALAKSHANAS).

These are all pre-Buddhist. Buddha has all of these being the greatest personality of his time. The earliest of the sculptures of Mahapurushas—Hindu, Buddhist and Jain—show these marks with particular care. These include the *śrīvatsa* already described, superhuman stature, royal gait, certain marks of the hands and feet, and in the case of Buddha the *ushṇīsha* (cranial protuberance) which appear peculiar to him. Even these two marks can be accounted for.

Ushṇīsha.[1]—The origin of this protuberance can be seen in certain Gandhara and Mathura sculptures (Vogel 1, pl. xxvi-a; Banerji J. N. pl. 1, fig. 1 and pl. 2), especially the former, the whole of the hair being worked into a *jaṭā* (topknot) evidently modelled on the *jaṭābhāra* of Rudra and of the *tāpasas* (ascetics). Other Gandhara Buddhas, contemporary with these, reduce the *jaṭā* to a protuberance covered with close curls which cover also the rest of the head. The earliest Mathura Buddhas have the whole of the hair twisted into a single large sinistral (i.e., clockwise) shell-like curl. Somewhat later ones have a shaven head with a line above the forehead which may perhaps represent the *ushṇīsha* which is otherwise absent. In the late Kushan and Kushan-Gupta transitional periods (Vogel 1, pl. xxx) the *ushṇīsha* is represented by a protuberance, the whole head being covered invariably with close sinistral curls. In figures other than those of Buddha such curls were already in use when the Bharhut railing was carved. Though Dr. Fabri (pp. 236—241) shows the occurrence of clockwise curls in early Persian sculpture, this motif need not be of foreign origin.

Ushṇīsha or turban occupied in early art the place of *makuṭa* or crown in later art. As in later jata-wearing figures the hair itself was called *jaṭāmakuṭa*, so in early figures the hair itself got the name of *ushṇīsha*. Here again is evident the desire of the monks to remember that Buddha could have worn the royal turban if he had chosen but as he was a monk it has been modified into a peculiar lump with curls.

Urṇā is simply *kastūrī tilaka* of a king transferred to Buddha in spite of his being a monk.

The *marks on the feet* are signs of predestination for supreme sovereignty and are found not only on Buddha's feet but also on the feet of tirthankaras (Vogel 1, pl. xxvi-a) as well as on those of the greatest Hindu kings. They are the *rekhādhvajakuliśātapatracihna* described by Kalidasa as on the feet of the great *samrāṭ* Raghu.[2] The feet of Raghu marked with these auspicious symbols could be touched by the various kings only through his special grace, so great an emperor was he (Raghuvamsa iv. 88). Such was the glory of a mortal emperor. Reverence for the universal emperor Vishnu can be understood by multiplying this a thousand-fold.

[1] On the *ushnisha* of Buddha *see* Coomaraswamy 11, & Banerji, J. N. [2] Great grandfather of Rama.

FEET.

The feet of Trivikrama that measured the universe gave special prominence to the worship of *Vishnupāda*, from which all *pāda* worship may be derived. It is unnecessary to recount here all that Dr. Jayaswal (2, p. 84) has said to prove the antiquity of the worship of Vishnupada. Suffice it to say that the Nirukta of Yaska older than Panini, who preceded Buddha, explains Vishnu's strides at Gaya. This is enough evidence for the origin of *Buddhapāda* worship. The unusual *Rudrapādas* of a later date from Jahngira near Bhagalpur (Cunningham 4, p. 24) are also derived from the same early concept of Vishnupada (Sivaramamurti 6, p. 27). The *pāda* concept is well brought out by the story of the *pādukās* of Rama in the Ramayana which is borrowed by the Jataka of Dasaratha wherein Bharata rules with their aid as in the Ramayana.

LION, BULL AND ELEPHANT.

The lion, bull and elephant so often carved in the sculptures also denote the superior nature of the Master. Panani's grammatical sutras (ii, 2, 56 and 62) lay down rules for the formation of words signifying the greatness of a person by epithet based on comparisons, the tiger, bull and elephant being chosen for this purpose. *Purusha-vyāghra*, *purusha-rshabha* and *purusha-kuñjara* are suggestive of the very best type of men. Though these associations with thc best of animals are thus very old they acquire a fresh significance in the case of Buddha, who was called Sakyasimha, the lion among the Sakyas, was born under the zodiacal sign of the bull, and descended from heaven to enter his mother's womb in the form of a white elephant. The significance of the lion, bull and elephant has been discussed at length by Foucher (1, p. 21 and explanation of pl. i A 9, 10 and 12).

SVASTIKA AND PURNAKUMBHA

For the suggestion of special auspiciousness the *svastika* (pl. iv, figs. 36 and 37) and *pūrṇakumbha* (overflowing vessel) are as significant as the *sirivaccha*. The *svastika* is an ancient symbol that occurs even at Mohenjo-Daro. The overflowing vessel has hoary antiquity. Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown the occurrence of the *motif* in early Assyrian reliefs (Coomaraswamy 3, pp. 63-64; also Fabri, pp. 219-221). It is an ancient Asiatic symbol of plenty.

All the above symbols are used as decorative *motifs* in architecture. The *sirivaccha* may be seen above caitya windows in some of the Amaravati sculptures (pl. lxi, fig. 2). The Ramayana mentions the *svastika* as one of several ground plans for buildings in Lanka (Ramayana, v, 4, 7 and 8). Overflowing vessels as symbolic of auspiciousness and plenty flank doorways. Hindu deities are often invoked in *kalaśas* (pitchers); and offering the *pūrṇakumbha* is considered the highest form of reverential welcome to a guest. A pair of filled pitchers flanking the doorway is so popular a theme that an early Satavahana king sings about it in one of the songs of the Gathasaptasati (ii, 40). This ancient *motif* with water

suggested by lotuses in the vase, has been incorporated by the Buddhists among their symbols. Foucher explains it as symbolic of the bathing of Buddha at his birth. Coomaraswamy (4, p. 187) rejects his suggestion, pointing out that the *abhisheka* (bathing) motif occurring in Bharhut, Sanchi, etc., if representing the bathing of the newborn babe of Maya should have also been present at Amaravati, where it does not occur. He thus proves that it is a representation of the *abhisheka* of Sri as related in the Srisukta; and bathing of the babe having nothing to do with the pre-Buddhistic *abhisheka* or *pūrṇakumbha* concepts, the overflowing vessel is of doubtful value as a representation of the birth of Buddha. The *abhisheka* of Lakshmi is itself suggestive of *Rājyalakshmī* (Goddess of prosperity) the *sāmrājya-abhisheka*, the bathing of the emperor in the coronation. The passion of the Buddhists to appropriate some form of *abhisheka* like that used in the grand coronation of a cakravartin for their spiritual Master has given rise to such scenes as the emptying of water jars by elephants over the feet on the throne beneath the Bodhi tree, and over the stupa, as seen in the capitals of pillars at Kanheri (Coomaraswamy 4, p. 185) where no nativity can be expected or admitted.

TRISULA ON WHEEL.

The *tri śūla* on wheel is a symbol from the time of Mohenjo-Daro (Marshall 2, pp. 437 and 449, nos. 80 and 237), but its significance has never been satisfactorily explained. In pointing this out Ghosh quotes from Burgess who says that "the occurrence of the shield, the trisula, svastika, etc, at the commencement and end of the earliest of the Junnar, Bhaja, Bedsa, Kuda and Karle cave inscriptions testified to their ancient use as fortunate symbols."

Earlier still Cunningham (2, p. 356) explained this symbol as composed of letters symbolising the five elements and also meaning *manas*.

Like other ancient symbols borrowed by the Buddhists this had had its own significance in still earlier times. As the symbol contains the *tri śūla* it has been supposed to represent the *triratna* of the Buddhists. This meaning may be imported into it since the symbol itself has been borrowed for some purposes. But to get at the real meaning of the symbol earlier literature than that of the Buddhists has to be approached. The *śūla* having Siva connections, it is to be expected that something pertaining to Siva or Rudra was involved, and the Rudra adhyaya[1] gives us the clue to the explanation, which is palaeographic. Siva is here called *Mayobhava* and *Mayaskara*. *Maya* means *sukha* or bliss. He is born of bliss and confers bliss and is hence himself tantamount to bliss, *i.e.*, *Ānandarūpa*, the state of Beatitude. And how was Maya represented?

[1] Krshna Yajurveda Taittiriya Samhita iv, 5.

As shown in fig. 4 a *ma* was a circle surmounted by a semi-circle, thus resembling the taurine symbol, and *ya* was a semi-circle with a central prong, so that the combination of the two symbols in the combined symbol, if read from bottom to top thus gives us *Maya* one of the numerons epithets of Rudra, and *Yama* meaning restraint of the senses if read from top to bottom. If turned upside down (fig. b) the symbol suggests *Śama* also meaning restraint of senses, the *ma* in this case resembling the Bhattiprolu type which co-existed with the usual type. *Ma* pronounced as nasal devoid of the vowel element would then read *Śam* or Bliss. As shown in fig. c the letter *na* was a vertical line arising from the middle of a horizontal one, and *ma* becomes *mo* by the addition of a pair of projections between the circle and semi-circle, so that by the addition of these projections to the symbol representing *Maya* and ***Yama*** a symbol is formed which includes in addition *Mana*, mind, and *Nama*, salutation (Sivaramamurti 7).

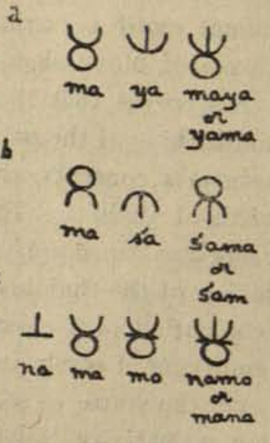

FIG. 4.

FLAMING PILLAR.

This pillar[1] always rises from a pair of feet and is crowned by a trisula on a wheel. Mr. Deva Prasad Ghosh in discussing it (**I**, p. 493–494) mentions the views of Fergusson and Burgess the former of whom thinks it is the counterpart of the ***agnilinga*** of Siva, the latter as intended to establish the superiority of Siva over other Hindu gods. Ghosh believes that "we may conjecture that in all probability this symbol was inherited from the Vedic Fire-worshippers and typifies a truly Aryan practice."

This view of Mr. Ghosh is quite acceptable since the flaming pillar is also suggestive of posts made of ***śamī*** and other kinds of wood typifying the ***yūpastambhas*** used in sacrifices and sometimes hewn out of stone to commemorate the performance of sacrifices. Inscribed early ***yūpas*** resembling wooden posts have been found in Mathura and other places. The Sivalinga itself appears to be of yupa origin as the origins of the temple itself are to be sought in the sacrificial hall. The ***śamī*** tree is reputed to have fire in it and flames appear to be suggestive of this.

The flaming pillar also carries over to Buddhism the Rudra-Agni concept, a linking of Rudra with Agni implicit in the third eye of Rudra which, like ***śamī***, contains fire. It appears to be the Buddhist counterpart of the Hindu Lingodbhava sculptures that we find at the Kailasanatha and Ellora temples, the tradition being far older than the sculptures. It was probably also connected with the *Sthāṇu* form of Siva.

[1] Pillars of fire on the four sides of Buddha's carpet are mentioned by Hardy (p. 213) which is interesting for comparison.

It is interesting to compare the flaming pillar with a figure from Mathura with his body, aflame figured by Coomaraswamy (2. pl. 16. fig. 2). He takes it to be a yaksha. But it resembles an anthropomorphic representation of Agni. Many of the descriptive names of Siva such as *Tāmra* or copper-coloured, *Aruṇa* or red as at dawn, *Babhru* or reddish brown, *Saspiñjara* or yellowish red. and *Tvishīmat* or of the nature of lustre, to quote just a few show the association with Siva of the colour, lustre and flame of Agni.

The all-pervasive nature of Rudra is given at the end of the Rudra adhaya in *yo rudro agnau yo apsu ya oshadhīshu yo rudro bhuvanāviveśa tasmai rudrāya namo astu* (Krshna Yajurveda Taittiriya Samhita iv, 5, 11). This gives the clue to an explanation of the flaming pillar as represented at Amaravati. Rudra is associated with *Agni* (fire), *Ap* (water) and *Oshadhi* (plant life) in his all-pervasive nature occupying the entire universe. The flames about the pillar represent Agni associations. The lotus below the feet at the base of the pillar suggests aquatic associations. The pillar itself is suggestive of the wooden sacrificial post representing the *Oshadhi* element.

The flaming pillar with its wheel, trisula, feet and lotus perhaps also contains a suggestion of Buddha's superiority over not only the Hindu trinity, but also over Agni and Surya. For the lotus is suggestive of *Padmabhū* (lotus-born) or Brahma, the feet are suggestive of Vishnu while the flaming pillar and *triśūla* suggest the Agni-Rudra concept and the *cakra* or the wheel suggests the Vedic *Adityamaṇḍala* (Solar disc). The symbol thus forms a very early example of the blend into one of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Surya, late examples[1] of which are to be seen at Sachiyamata's temple in Marwar, Dilmal in Guzerat and Bhaval in Jodhpur state (compare Bhandarkar 3, p. 114) but with this difference, that it includes Agni as well.

DEER.

Two deer on etheir side of a wheel were often represented when the scene of the First Sermon was intended. Buddha's presence was as usual suggested by the empty throne and feet on a footstool, and the Deerpark, where he first set the wheel of the law turning, by deer. The Deerpark (Migadava) is in Isipatana (Rshipattana). These names are significant. These deer are the Buddhist counterparts of the Hindu *āśrama mrgas* (hermitage deer), Buddha being Sakya muni, a sage like the rshis. Hermitage deer were so fondly loved by sages that even their newborn little ones would nestle in their laps free from fear (Raghuvamsa v. 7) and assured of protection from arrows aimed at them (Sakuntalam Act i, p. 22). Manu says (ii, 23) that only a spot where deer move about freely is a sacred place fit for *yajña* (*homa* sacrifice). *Adhyayana* (sacred study) is one of the great *yajñas*, and Buddha naturally chose Mrgadava or the Deerpark, where the deer roamed without fear, in Isipatana or the town of sages to preach his great Dharma. It is significant that the Sakya muni or Sakya sage resided in Gandhakuti or the perfumed hut or hermitage, in groves like the penance groves of the sages, Nigrodhavana (banyan grove), Venuvana (bamboo grove), Talavana

1 *See* pl. xxxvii and p. 125 in Chanda 2, for similar early examples from Java.

(palm grove) and so forth. His discourses were delivered seated under a tree just as the rshis of old preached in the penance grove (*tapovanas*) seated under the hermitage trees (*āśramavṛkshas*). Buddha is specially associated with *sāl*, *nigrodha* and other trees, and thus reminds us that the Aranyaka portions of the Vedas may only be studied in forests under trees. Buddha's close association with trees suggests also the *Vṛkshamūlika*, an ascetic type mentioned in the Ramayana (v, 13, 40). This concept of Buddha as a *Muni* or sage is preserved also in the spiral *ushṇīsha* of certain early figures of Buddha representing the tied-up *jaṭā* of sages (see above p. 59).

THE BUDDHA IMAGE.

Buddha's form is a cross between *Vānaprastha*[1] and *Sanyāsa*[2]. Other monks are close shaven and exactly like Hindu sanyasins. Buddha alone retains his two-inch curls. The Gandhara sculptures that represent Buddha with his top knot are not false representations. If the passion of the Buddhists to retain signs of royalty such as the lion throne, wheel, etc., is pardonable and can be understood as consistent with the concept of a monk, the top knot and moustache—repulsive to most students of Buddha's form—is a correct delineation of the Master since Buddha never shaved himself and the moustache and top knot of his previous princely station persisted without growth for ever, the latter alone cut with his sword so as not to exceed two inches (Nidanakatha, p 86). This cut-off hair is indicated by a line immediately beneath the knot, the knot, itself being retained to suggest his sagehood.

This concept of Buddha as a beautiful prince turned teacher is clearly reminiscent of the old *Rājarshis*—here a youthful *rājarshi*—and cannot have been derived from the Greek Apollo, the beautiful god of light who wields the bow and harp. Nor can Gandhara figures with Indian turbans, jewels and drapery be traced back to any Greek original. The characteristically Indian pose of *sālabhañjikā*[3] is also adopted in Gandhara sculptures. The *sālabhāñjikā* in her pure Indian form as she occurs at Bharhut represents a pose that is found in representation of all great folk. The early yakshas and nagas stand with right hand raised and left hand on hip. Coomaraswamy (10, p. 17) deplores the injured nature of the early yakshas whose lack of hands prevents the establishment of the source of the later Bodhisattva figures of Mathura. But that the type is an exceedingly early one is proved by the image from Mohenjo-Daro in exactly the same pose and with the hands intact

[1] One who renounces worldly affairs and lives with his wife in a forest engaged in penance. The rshis are examples.

[2] One who totally renounces the world, is a strict celibate wandering about from one place to another, begging for food. He is a shaven monk.

[3] Originally meaning a lady gathering *sāla* flowers, but later a statuette in a pose holding the *sāla* bough or something similar.

(Marshall 3, pl. clix, fig. 11). The yakshis and devatas stand with right hand raised and clinging to a bough or some such thing, the left resting on the hip. But they differ from the yakshas in that their feet are crossed. This is the standard for Mayadevi in the Lumbini garden, for the naginis whether Gandhara or indigenous and for all other *sālabhañjikās* of later date. The yaksha type, representing a being to be worshipped, comes from an earlier concept which is Vedic and is the forerunner of this and of the cakravartin, the type adopted for Buddha as the *sālabhañjikā* type was adopted for Maya. If it cannot be said that Maya has Greek origin wherefore should it be sought to prove it in the case of Buddha ?

The figure of Buddha was the result of a necessity. Symbols may have served their purpose for a time ; but the desire for an anthropomorphic form, especially when folk all about worshipped different deities in such form, must have been very strong and no doubt accounts for the appearance of the Buddha figure. And what was the model for it ? Buddha's statue is not a portrait in the sense that it was a true copy of the Master's featu.es. It was an ideal so well standardized that by the beginning of the Gupta period it had become a form suggestive of a statue of a great contemporary spiritual person. Great teachers of the time must have been the first models for the sculptor. A typical teacher, in seated pose similar to most seated Buddhas, legs crossed, right hand raised in the attitude of teaching and left hand resting on the knee, is carved at Bharhut and figured by Coomaraswamy (10, fig. 27). The figure of a monk in the scene representing naga Erapatra worshipping Buddha (*loc. cit.* fig. 26) with the addition of halo and *ushṇīsha* could be turned into that of Buddha. And the *ushṇīsha* with curls occurs, as remarked by Coomaraswamy, in Bodhgaya. This material was enough to enable the sculptor of Mathura to carve his Buddha.

But the figure of Buddha most popular with the sculptors of Amaravati was somewhat different and seems to be that of a cakravartin in monk's dress. The clenched left hand usually caught the upper end of the robe except when it lay flat on the lap, and the right came down considerably to suggest *abhaya* rather than a command for rain in its original form. But this is nothing new, for it is the pose described in the Krshna Yajurveda where the noble Brahmana just raises his right hand after adjusting his upper garment of cloth or *ajina* (deer skin) across his shoulders in the *upavīta* fashion and closes or clenches his left hand—*ajinam vāso vā dakshiṇata upavīya dakshiṇam bāhumuddharate 'vadhatte savyamiti* (Taittiriya Aranyaka ii, 1). The interpretation of the word *avadhatte*, placing on or closing, has gfven rise to three types of figures. The first is Buddha with his right hand in the *abhaya* attitude and with his left hand closed but grasping the ends of the folds of his robe, common all over the land north and south ; the second is the Mas:er in the same fashion but with the closed hand resting on his waist, the usual type at Mathura ; the third is Buddha with the right hand as before, the left hand resting on his lap in his seated figures, the usual type at Amaravati. In all these forms the concept is a very early one and Vedic. This

concept glorifies the being as one entitled to perform sacrifices and study and teach Vedas, and the reasons for the cakravartin being represented after this model are that the *Rājasūya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices are his special prerogatives and that sacrifices are necessary for attainment of Sakrahood. There is also great propriety in Buddha being so represented as he was a great teacher, a teacher who could have become a universal monarch if he had so chosen (pl. iii, figs. 6 a, b and c). So linked up with the cakravartin concept is that of Buddha the teacher, that the Vedic concept suiting both was admirable for the Buddhist iconographer who immediately adopted it. This form of Buddha is identical with the Candrasekhara and Vishnu images of a later period standing with right hand in *abhaya* and the left in *katyavalambita* attitudes apart from the additional upper pair of arms of the latter (pl. iii, fig. 6 d and e). This form of image is thus a common indigenous Vedic concept popularised by the early iconographer which continues till the present day.

DEITIES

Indian Iconography [1] whether Hindu or Buddhist, is based on early popular ideas which have been embodied in the Vedas and Puranas. And though it has changed as the centuries have passed, most of the changes have been comparatively slight. Some deities of importance in early literature, however, such as Kubera, Manmatha, and Samkarshana are no longer generally worshipped and temples to them are unknown apart from those revealed by archæological discoveries. Others have come to be so definitely associated with either Bnddhism or Hinduism that any connection with the other that they may have had is forgotten, or a god greatly revered by one faith may be as greatly abhorred by the other. Thus Mara the temptor of Buddhist legends stands in marked contrast to Mara, the Hindu god of love. Sometimes, too, synonyms have developed an individuality of their own as when Vajrapani, another name for Indra, in Hindu iconography, became a special Buddhist deity.

VANADEVATAS OR TREE SPIRITS.

In a sculpture from the coping of the Amaravati rail the tree spirit is represented by a head in a tree trunk (pl. iv, fig. 28). This agrees excellently with the description in the Jatakas where the spirit speaks with its head visible in the hollow of the trunk. In such cases he is described as speaking words of wisdom. Sometimes it is the hand projecting from the tree that suggests the tree spirit. In a drawing of a sculpture representing Buddha's birth in the Sal grove (Burgess 1, pl. xxxii) the hand of the spirit is visible and in another Amaravati sculpture (Vogel 1, pl. vii a) Buddha is aided near the river Neranjara by the tree spirit who lends his hand, just the hand being shown (Coomaraswamy 2, p. 34). The tree spirit is also shown in early sculpture at Bharhut, Bodhgaya and elsewhere by similar representation of his hand or hands projecting from the tree in an attitude of giving food or dress. The tree spirits are often described in the Jatakas. They differ in their power and status.

[1] For early cults and iconography *see* Coomaraswamy 2 & 3.

They are so born because of their good deeds. The Bodhisattva himself was once born as a tree spirit and was the wise leader of many of his kinsmen in the Sal grove where his own tree stood (Jataka 1, No. 74). Another tree spirit narrates to his wondering guests who are quite content with the comforts provided for them, how his supernatural powers are due to a gift of some food to a Pacceka Buddha, *i.e.,* one who is enlightened but unable to enlighten others (Dhammapad-atthakatha i, p. 278).

But the concept of the vanadevata is not exclusively Buddhist. The presence of benign and malignant spirits in trees, mountains, lakes, houses and the like is a common popular belief and is as old as man's instinctive respect for unaccountable phenomena in nature. Respect for tree spirits, the guardians of the quarters, the sun and moon, dawn and twilight and the like is vividly portrayed in the utterances of Vita the friend of Sakara in the Mrcchakatika where he points out that all these deities watch every action of man, and refrains from killing Vasantasena ' the ornament of Ujjain ' (Act viii, p. 180). Tree spirits are frequently referred to in Hindu as in Buddhist literature. It is respect for the tree spirit that accounts for the permission usually taken from him even today by utterance of a hymn before breaking a twig for cleaning the teeth. Plants (*oshadhis*) and trees (*vanaspatis*) are personified as goddesses and deities and collectively invoked as a jungle goddess, *Araṇāyānī,* in the Vedas (Macdonell, p. 154). The *vanadevatas,* are, however, minor deities and Kalidasa could describe them as serving the role of attendants in the case of king Dilipa who is likened to the Lord of the Waters, Varuna (Raghuvamsa ii, 9)[1]. They are of a kindly disposition and are usually affectionate towards those that tend their dwelling place, the tree, and being endowed with supernatural powers they shower gifts on them. Thus Sakuntala, the sweet maiden of the forest, has splendid presents of silken garments and beautiful ornaments given her by the *vanaspatis* (Sakuntalam Act iv, 5, p. 164). The Jatakas abound in descriptions of benevolent tree spirits offering food, dress and ornaments to those that seek them for this purpose. The jewels sculptured as issuing from the tendrils and buds of the creeper designs on the Bharhut coping show the theme of the *Kalpavallī*[2] (a creeper form of the wishing tree). In Alaka, the city of the yakshas, all the needs of the people are supplied by the wishing tree (Meghaduta ii). It is the same tree in Indra's garden that was coveted by Satyabhama. The *Kalpavṛksha par excellence,* typifying all the nine *nidhis* or treasures that are shown along with it, evidently forming the crown, as suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy (3, p. 8), of the *dhvajastambha* of one of the *prāsādas* or temples of Kubera such as the one mentioned by Patanjali (Mahabhashya i, p. 436), is the highest Hindu conception of a

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[1] Note here the comparison of Dilipa with Varuna and the tree spirits, also godlings, presiding over *rasa* in some form, sap here, adoring him. They have such a tender heart that they cannot bear the grief of suffering people and they shed tears to see a forlorn yaksha pining after his separated wife (Meghaduta) or a noble innocent queen deserted by her husband in the forest (Raghuvamsa xiv, 69).

[2] For discussion on *Kalpavalli, see* Sivaramamurti 3 and 6, pp. 3-8.

Vṛkshadevātā. The worship of trees or *rukkha cetiyas* is often alluded to in Hindu and Buddhist literature: and in Amaravati, as in other early Buddhist monuments, there are sculptures of trees with festoons, garlands, etc., all offerings of devotees.

Nadīdevatās or River (Water) Spirits.

River goddesses, a variety of water spirits, are represented in two ways in the Amaravati sculptures (pl. iv, fig. 19 pl. i, fig. 4 b). Both representations occur in the sculptures preserved in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. 1, fig. 1 pl. lviii, fig. 2). One of them shows two women on crocodiles with water jars and food, on either side of a snake. In the other there are women flying with water vessels filled with lotuses in their hands. Coomaraswamy has shown (3, p. 70) that the earliest sculptural representation of the *nadīdevatās* or river spirits are in the Amaravatī sculptures where their position on the makara is significant. Barua (p. 95, fig. 47) has tried to show earlier representations of Ganga at Bodhgaya and Bharhut, but the makara at Bodhgaya is, as he himself notes, lion-headed and the sculpture of the figure on it is so worn that it is difficult to make out its sex; at Bharhut it is a man riding a water elephant, *jalebha*, and it is not the river goddess (Cunningham 1, pl. xxxvi fig. 2). The representations from Amaravati cited by Coomaraswamy thus appear as among the earliest; but they are not the very earliest. Representations of yakshis on fish-tailed animals from Jaggayyapeta (Coomaraswamy 3, pl. IX, 2), the yakshi standing on a cushion over a makara under a tree (*op. cit.* pl. x, 2) and the like may be earlier prototypes. The yakshi from Bharat Kala Bhavan (pl. i. fig. 4 a) which is contemporary with the Amaravati sculptures representing river goddesses (pl. 1, fig. 4 b) is, though lacking the crocodile below, very significant considering especially the emphasis laid by Coomaraswamy on the water jar held horizontally suggesting the source of ever flowing water (Coomaraswamy 3, pp. 70–71). The representation of river goddesses in pairs in the Amaravati sculpture (*op. cit.* pl. xix, 1) gives the clue to the origin of figures of Ganga and Yamuna shown on their respective vehicles, the crocodile and the tortoise, on either jamb of the doorway in the Gupta period[1] (Banerji, R. D., pl. v & xxvii) since clear iconographic form of the river goddesses are developed by this time. The later iconographic texts that give a vehicle to the river goddess also require her to carry a water vessel filled with flowers (*pūrṇaghaṭa*). The Vishuudharmottara which is assigned to the Gupta period gives such a description of the river goddess. The presence in the Amaravati sculptures of the *pūrṇaghaṭa* full of lotuses that symbolise water is obviously according to earlier ideas that are here as in later sculptures executed in permanent material. This explains the flying figures with *pūrṇaghaṭas*. But there are the other figures carrying water jugs and plates filled with food. This is to suggest plenty; and when we remember that there are distinctions like *devamātṛkās* (dependant on rain) and *adeva-mātṛkās* or *nadīmātrkas* (dependant on river water), according to as a land depends on the clouds or the rivers for water needed for feeding crops, the symbol is easily understood.

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[1] *See* Jayaswal 3, pp. 53, 96, 97 for early Naga (Bharasiva), Vakataka representations of Ganga and Yamuna.

It may also be noted that the representations mostly come from places watered by rivers. Local rivers are always favourites and the girls of the neighbourhood are named after them. Thus there are names like Reva, Narmada, Godavari, in the regions watered by those rivers. But special sanctity was developed for the Ganges and Jumna which are popular all over India. In the sculptures of the Gupta and later periods reverence for these river goddesses is made manifest by the parasols that are shown held over them by attendants carved beside them (Coomaraswamy 3, pl. 19, fig. 3). The simpler representations at Amaravati, where even the variety of vehicles of the river goddesses is not yet developed, are interesting as showing the early phase of this development of an iconographic idea.[1]

The explanation of this very simple representation of river deities is also to be sought in the place accorded them in Buddhism. River deities as described in Buddhist literature are no better than tree spirits and do not occupy the high position that is theirs in the Hindu pantheon. The deity presiding over the river Ganges, a very important one, is mentioned twice in the Jatakas (v, No. 511, pp. 3-5; ii, No. 288, pp. 288-290). She is described as a fair nymph presiding over the stream and claiming as her lawful prize all the fruits from trees that grow on its banks. She moves in the air and has superhuman powers. She is of a generous disposition and feeds an ascetic with mangoes for which he yearns. This river spirit is full of gratitude and deliberately returns in an ingenious manner the good that a wealthy man did her casually, by giving her opportunity of acquiring the merit by feeding the fishes with the remains of his meal thrown into the stream. It is interesting to see that here the possibility is admitted of a river spirit gaining merit from such simple things.

But the respect for the river goddesses among the people was deep-rooted and their worship dates back to very early times. The festival of Ganga and Mahi celebrated by one and all, like some of the modern *jātras*, was well known to Buddha and is mentioned in early texts such as the Mahavagga (Vinàya Texts ii, p. 25. v, 9, 3) and the Cullavagga (*op. cit.* iii, p. 359, x, 21).

Similar popular faith in rivers is recorded in the interesting chapter in the Ramayana where Sita on her way to the Dandaka forest is described as praying to the river goddess Ganga, promising various offerings on her safe return to Ayodhya after the period of exile (ii, 52, 82-85). The holy Ganges, the heavenly river that according to the epics (*op. cit.* i, 43, 4-10) descended on the locks of Siva is a copy of the earlier picture of the glorious Vedic river Sarasvati and is immortalised in sculpture all over the land. Yamuna is of solar origin; her associations with Krshna and Balarama—the later responsible for turning her course with his plough whence his name *Kālindībhedana* (the subduer of Yamuna)—have sanctified her. The lunar origin of Narmada and Godavari's associations with sage Gautama account for their importance. This esteem of river deities can be traced back to the Vedic period where Sindhu, Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati and a host of other rivers and tributaries of major rivers like Sarayu and Sutudru are personified as goddesses and invoked

[1] *See* Sivaramamurti 6, pp. 43-47

(Macdonell p. 86). The idea of river goddesses as protecting deities almost akin to a mother is obvious in Kalidasa's description (Raghuvamsa xiii, 63) of the Sarayu flowing past Ayodhya appearing to welcome Rama back with outstretched wavy hands as if to embrace him This should also be traced back to the Vedic concept of Sarasvati adored as mother, *ambā*. The company of river consorts enjoyed by Samudraraja (the lord of the ocean) described in the Ramayana (vi, 21, 23-24) and the Raghuvamsa (xiii, 9) is a development of the Vedic idea of Varuna the lord of waters controlling the rivers (Macdonell p. 25). The confluence of rivers were also considered sacred. The most famous of these is the confluence of Yamuna, Ganga and Sarasvati at Allahabad (Jataka ii, No. 205 p. 105). Similarly that of Sarayu and Ganga where to die meant rebirth in heaven (Raghuvamsa viii, 95). It is this high position occupied by the river goddesses in Hindu literature that accounts for their more complex figures with attendants holding umbrellas over them unlike the simpler and earlier Buddhist representations.

NAGAS.[1]

Nagas, nagarajas, and naginis occur often in the Amaravati sculpture in scenes from Jatakas, from Buddha's life and from episodes of a later period. They are represented in three ways—either as human beings with hoods over their heads, as half-snakes with the coils from the waist, or purely as reptiles. Unlike the Gupta nagini at Maniyar Math (Vogel 2, pl. xxiv) or the naginis in the famous scene of Arjuna's penance at Mahabalipuram (*op. cit.* pl. xviii), but like those at Bharhut and Sanchi, naginis at Amaravati, have only a single hood over their head (pl. iv, fig. 20) while the nagarajas have five or more (pl. iv, fig. 18). Representations of nagas as human beings with hoods predominate. The next common form is theriomorphic (pl. xxxvi, fig. I). Less frequent are instances of the half-snake half-human form with coils below the waist (pl. xlv, fig. I).

The numerous figures of nagas in Buddhist sculptures are due to the important role they play in Buddha's fold and their great reverence for the Master. Naga Erapatra was eagerly awaiting the appearance of the Buddha in the world. Naga Mucilinda protected him from a terrible storm for over a week. The nagas got their own share of Buddha's relics which was protected by them even from king Asoka. Some of the Amaravati sculptures have this story for their theme (pl. lxi, fig. I; Fergusson, pl. lxii, cviii; Vogel 2, pl. x; Burgess I, pl. xl, fig. 2, pl. xli, fig. 2). On one occasion the nagas enabled the Master, accompanied by Ananda, to cross the river Ganges in a boat formed by their hoods, instead of by two bridges of boats prepared by king Ajatasatru and the Licchavi nobles.

Though the Buddhist naga, occupies a definitely lower position than his Hindu counterpart, he is nevertheless very powerful, full of poison which could easily burn entire cities to

[1] For an exhaustive account of nagas *see* Vogel 2.

ashes but he required to be born as a human being to work out his salvation just as, according to Hindu theories, even a deva has to be born in the world of the mortals to qualify himsel. for salvation. Nagas lived in a grand city below the stream of the river Yamuna (Jataka vif No. 543, p. 107). They were born to enjoy and there were so many allurements in the netherworld that it was impossible for them to think of good deeds. Their irascible temper, that accounts for many mishaps, required careful control and we find nagas like Bhuridatta coming out and lying on an ant-hill in snake form to allow people to do what they liked with their bodies. An Amaravati sculpture in the British Museum and one still at Amaravati show this snake on the ant-hill—a mighty snake prince putting himself at the mercy of cowboys and shepherds (Fergusson, pl. lx for the former; the latter is still unpublished)*. Another sculpture from Amaravati shows a nagaraja being made to dance by a snake charmer (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1). This self torture resigning all royal and divine pleasures, with self enforced starvation on special days, brought them nearer their goal.

Though of choleric temper when their ire was roused they were generally kind to their benefactors as was naga Campaka to king Ugrasena (Jataka iv, No. 506, p. 286) of Benares or Sankhapala to Alara (*op. cit.* v, No. 524, p. 86). Their natural genial temperament and good nature is revealed in stories like that of naga Campeyya who welcomed the king of Magadha, though quite a stranger to him (*op. cit.* iv, No. 506, p. 281). The hospitality of a naga prince as described in the Jatakas is beautifully portrayed in one of the Amaravati sculptures (Fergusson, pl. lx). Though according to Hindu mythology they were unsuccessful in getting heavenly ambrosia, the Buddhist stories describe their food as the sweetest heavenly substance, a grain of which tasted by a novice from the bowl of his Master who was fed by the nagas gave him a thrill of divine taste (Vogel 2, p. 188).

The notion that they could at will change their form into that of a reptile or a human being is common to both Hindu and Buddhist literature. Queen Samuddaja did not know for a long time that her husband and all the attendants around her were nagas and that she was in the naga world, so successfully did they keep their assumed form. The hood and the tail, to be discussed shortly, are the special characteristics that distinguish the form of the nagas when wholly or partially they are human.

Though the nagas were possessed of such deadly poison they were afraid of the garudas, kites that fed on them. Though in the adoration of the Buddha (pl. xxxviii, fig. 2 a) or anything he had used (lit. enjoyed), the nagas (pl. xxvi, fig. 1) and the garudas might act without enmity, as for instance in one of the Jatakas, they were yet in dread of the kite that carried them away as their food (pl. xli, fig. 2). To escape the garudas the nagas sometimes swallowed stones so that when the bird lifted them the weight of the stone might pull them down and they could not so easily be carried away. They were also afraid of the snake charmer who could stupify the mightiest snake. Alambayana in Bhuridatta Jataka (vi, No. 543, p. 97),

* It has been since published. *Ed.*

the brahman from Taxila in the Campeyya Jataka (iv, No. 506, p. 283), and the snake charmer in the story of Sudhanakumara (Vogel 2, pp. 184–185) control mighty snakes. A snake dance in the charmer's basket as described in these Jatakas may be seen in one of the Amaravati sculptures (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1).

The nages were believed to preside over certain cities whose welfare was assured by their presence. Their departure thence meant ill for the land. So nagas were specially revered in those cities. The presence of the naga Janmacitraka was responsible for the copious rainfall and prosperity of northern Pancala; so this naga was greatly coveted by the king of southern Pancala. Mani naga was responsible for rain in Magadha and the sanctity of his abode as a *tīrtha* (sacred place) at Rajagrha was great; and excavations there have revealed Gupta sculptures of nagas and nagis at Maniyar Math (Bloch and Marshall pp. 103–106). The confusion arising from the double meaning of the word naga as either snake or elephant accounts for the notion of the rain-giving elephants as in the Vessantara Jataka where its presence in the land of the prince assured prosperity.

The earliest reference to the nagas are in the Yajur and Atharva Vedas wherein are four oft mentioned, Tirasciraji, Asita, Prdaku and Kankaparvan. They with two others are associated with six quarters or regions and six divine regents (Vogel 2, p. 9). The word naga has by its double meaning created confusion in the interpretation of the personality and functions of the *din-naga*[1]. In later mythology both snakes and elephants came to be associated with quarters as supporters of the earth. The divine *lokapālas* or guards of the quarters came to be in some manner associated with the nagas; and this accounts for the Buddhist belief of two nagas Virupaksha and Erapatra as lokapalas of the eastern and western regions. The Ramayana regards Surasa as the progenitor of the snakes and the ocean as their home (v, I, 145). Snakes also dwell in mountain caves like that of Mahendra and Mainaka (*op. cit.* v, 1, 20–21, 104) and possess five heads (hoods), full of poison. The description of nagas in the Jatakas is thus essentially the same as that of Hindu literature.

The nagas of epic mythology occupy a distinctly higher place than in Buddhism. Though not worshipped as principal deities anywhere, the most powerful among them are revered with awe and it is believed that they have performed some of the most impossible tasks. Vasuki is the huge reptile used as the rope for churning the ocean. Sesha serves as the couch of Narayana. On his hoods the the burden of this great universe rests. Takshaka, the great king of the reptiles resides in the netherworld (*Pātāla*) where snakes guard the gateway (Raghuvamsa i, 80). Karkotaka, noted for his deadly poison, is another of that race. Nagas have an honoured place on the neck, ears and locks of Siva who uses them as his ornaments. It is interesting to note that some of the dwarfs in the Amaravati sculptures in the British Museum have reptiles as ear ornaments and thus suggest the *pramathagaṇas* (Siva's dwarfish

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[1] Elephants at the quarters supporting the universe.

followers), who, as is usual in later sculptures, follow their master in dress and appearance (Fergusson, pl. xcii, fig. 5). The nagas when injured can put a stop to the chain of progeny but they are not of first importance as divinities, being merely superhuman beings like yakshas, siddhas, vidyadharas, gandharvas and many others. The synonyms of naga—*bhogi*, *bhujanga*, etc., all relating to pleasure—are very significant, and their double meanings, so often effectively used by poets, connote the extraordinary pleasure enjoyed by nagas in Bhogavati their principal town, the town of pleasure[1]. Life in the naga world—their music, dance and revelry—is represented vividly in a Jataka scene on one of the Amaravati marbles in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. lx, fig 2).

GARUDAS.

Garudas are generally represented in Graeco-Buddhist sculpture as birds carrying nagas in anthropomorphic form (Grunwedel fig. 61). In Mathura sculpture they are similarly shown (Vogel I, pl. lviii a). In sculptures from Amaravati there are two modes of representation. A bird carrying an ordinary snake with many hoods as at Mathura is a type twice represented on the coping piece from the rail (pl. xli, fig. 2; Fergusson I, pl. lvi, fig. 1). The other is the anthropomorphic form (pl. v, fig. 31), where he is shown as a man with wings. Human figures with wings were not unknown in very early art. For there is a terracotta of the Mauryan period from Basarh (Spooner, pl. xlvi. *i* 550) showing this feature (Coomaraswamy 1, pl. v. fig. 16), and at Bharhut there are certain figures with wings, and early Mathura art has similar examples. Winged yakshas occur as caryatids at Bodhgaya (Coomaraswamy 2, pl. 13, fig. 2)[2]. But wings are absent from all human sculptures after the beginning of the Christian era and Garutman, the winged one—*i.e.* garuda is distinguished by his wings from the end of the second century A.D., the only other supernatural beings with bird-like features being by that time the *kinnaras*. A peculiar feature of the anthropomorphic representation of garudas in Amaravati sculpture is the position of the arms with hands on hips. This posture suggests power and defiance and is used wherever they have to be indicated as in the case of certain princes. Reference to Garuda as a suggestion of power is not new for it is clearly indicated in the Ramayana where Hanuman thinks of himself as another Garuda in attempting to cross the mighty ocean (v, 1, 44). In sculptures from Amaravati there often occurs a peculiar representation of a naga the hoods of which surround a large linga-like object while behind them a nagaraja adores a person in the defiant attitude of a garuda. Can this represent a serpent that has swallowed a large block of stone in the hope of escaping from its enemy the garuda, as described in the Pandara Jataka? It would

[1] Bhogavati in Buddhist literature refers to the palace and the capital of the naga king (Jataka vi, No. 545, p. 123).

[2] Coomaraswamy 4, p. 181 mentions a winged goddess from Akhun Dheri (Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep. 1922-23, pl. x b).

then show that the defiant person, who was triumphant even over such a serpent secure in its additional gigantic weight, was on a par with a mighty garuda. Hence the naga folds his hands in reverence.

The garudas of Buddhist literature are semi-divine beings like the nagas, kinnaras, yakshas and gandharvas, There is a plurality of garudas all feeding on snakes. Nagas caught by a snake charmer look up stealthily from their baskets before they dance to see that no garuda or relative is present close by, in the former case, because of the great fear they entertain for him (Jataka vi, No. 543, p. 102). Garudas are possessed of such immense strength that one of them was able to carry off a monster snake along with a huge tree around which it had coiled itself in order to escape (*op.cit.* vi. No. 543, p. 23). The parallel to this idea in Hindu legends can be seen in the story of Garuda carrying away the huge tortoise and elephant. Here again the double meaning of the word naga has brought in elephants in the place of snakes. Yet in Buddhist mythology this bird, capable in both Buddhist (*op.cit.* v, No. 518, p. 43) and Hindu (Ramayana v, 1, 123) mythology of producing a fearful wind known as the garuda wind, cannot carry away a snake that has swallowed large stones; and one of the Jatakas even tells us that many garudas tire themselves by vainly trying to catch snakes that have swallowed stones, keep their heads erect, and that they finally drop down dead (Jataka v. No. 518, p. 43).

Though the garudas are generally inimical to the nagas – and there are stories of how they tried to learn certain secrets of self protection that the nagas alone knew—in some fables the garuda and the naga were brought together as friends either because of the influence of a saintly hermit or because of a common friendship in a previous birth which roused softer feelings in their hearts. Thus a naga king and a garuda actually sit together in a friendly fashion with two other persons to listen to the words of wisdom spoken by Vidhurapandita (Jataka vi, No. 545, p. 129). Their friendly farewell after Vidhurapandita's discourse is illustrated at Amaravati (pl. xliv, fig. 1-*a*). In the adoration of Buddha the animosity between naga and garuda is forgotten (pl. xxxviii, fig. 2-*a*). But the method adopted by a garuda to learn the secret of the snakes (*op.cit.* v. No. 518) and the stealthy way in which another carried away the wife of his friend, the king of Benares (*op.cit.* iii, No. 360) are despicable.

The pantheon of the Hindu epics knows of no second Garuda, but only the son of Kasyapa by Vinata and the half brother of the nagas. He is the natural enemy of the serpents from whose overlordship he delivered himself and his mother by procuring heavenly ambrosia which the nagas were not destined to taste. He is thus the eagle styled Garutmat who carried off Soma for Indra in Vedic mythology (Macdonell, p. 152). As the vehicle of Vishnu he is of great importance in the Hindu pantheon. The earliest Hindu representations of Garuda go back to the beginning of the second century B.C., among which is the famous Garuda pillar of Heliodorus whose crowning piece, the most important part, is unfortunately missing.

The touch of Garuda is supposed to heal all wounds, and in the Ramayana he is said by his very approach to have driven away the venomous and gigantic snakes that had bound Rama and Lakshmana so tightly that they had swooned (vi, 50, 39). He is there pictured in anthropomorphic form with a pair of wings as in the Amaravati sculptures. He feeds on snakes and a fearful picture of this is given in the Nagananda where the mountain slopes on which Garuda eats them is described as strewn with heaps of bones of mighty nagas.

Kinnaras.

The kinnaras shown in Amaravati sculpture are all from the first period and are shown hopping on their short bird's legs, tray in hand, evidently to adore a stupa (pl. iv, fig. 30). Two sculptures with kinnaras were dug out by Rea at Amaravati in 1908 (3, pl. xxix, fig. d and pl. xxx, fig. *a*). Sculptures from Bharhut, Sanchi and other early stupas also show kinnaras thus as half birds; and at Ajanta and even in distant Java kinnaras are represented in the same manner. Similar representations have survived to the present day in South India on the kinnari lamps and in certain Hindu sculptures. In Hindu mythology the kinnara is described as half man, half horse, not half bird, and at Mathura early Buddhist figures of kinnaras agree with the Hindu description as given in the Vishnudharmottara – half horse, half man. At Bodhgaya there is the figure of a yakshi with a horse's head, but she is not a kinnari, and the Jataka which it illustrates is explicit as to her place among the demi-gods.

The sculptures from Amaravati, like those from other Buddhist monuments, follow in the portrayal of kinnaras their description in Buddhist literature as good fairies whicha gain is different from the Hiudu idea of them. According to the Jatakas kinnara pairs are perfect specimens of great love and devotion. Two Jatakas illustrate this. In the Candakinnara Jataka the devotion of the kinnari to her lord brings Sakka (Indra) to the spot to cure him from the mortal wound inflicted on him by the king of Benares (iv, No. 485, p. 182). Separation even for a night is too great for the kinnara pair and though their life is fabulously long, they lament such a separation even after the lapse of seven hundred years (*op. cit* iv, No. 504, p. 274). Here the idea of the *cakravāka*[1] pair so often described by classical Sanskrit poets is apparent, and it appears likely that a jumbling of these ideas has given the kinnara in Buddhist sculptures the shape of a bird below the waist. Descriptions of the kinnaras in Jataka stories are not quite clear as to their form but that they are harmless creatures almost like birds is obvious from the fact that they hop about, sing beautifully and are caught and brought in cages to be presented to a king (*op. cit.* iv, No. 481, p. 160). One of the kinnaras himself says " human-like the wild things deem us ; huntsmen call us goblins still " (*op. cit.* iv, No. 504, p. 273).

Kinnaras dwelt in the Himalaya region (Kumarasambhava i, 8) in the mountain known as Candapabbata (Jataka iv, No. 465, p. 180) and were supposed to be particularly fond of the Gandhamadana hill (*op. cit.* iv, No. 485, p. 182). Mallangiri, Tikutaka and Pandaraka

1 A kind of bird that is always with his mate

were also hills where they abode. Adepts in music, they could sing and play the flute and dance softly with gentle movements of the limbs. The story of the kinnaras nursing a baby when its parents were away in the woods shows that they were tender-hearted (*op. cit.* vi, No. 540, p. 41). That they were treated as no better than weird animals is seen from the way they were hunted, captured and presented to kings. Their apparel consisted of flowers, their food of pollen and their cosmetics of flower perfume. They bathed in streams, swung in the creepers and rested on couches of flowers. These harmless creatures are very different from the horse-faced or centaur-like kinnaras of Hindu mythology.

The kinnaras of Hindu mythology are divine minstrels like the gandharvas, excellent masters of music. In emphasising their musical talents the descriptions in Buddhist literature agree with the Hindu descriptions where their voice is considered the sweetest and the woman with a delightful voice is *kinnarakaṇṭhī*, *i.e.*, possessing the voice of kinnara (Raghuvamsa viii. 64). Kinnaras are believed to be composed of two elements, horse and man, the head being that of either and the body always of the other (Vishnudharmottara iii, 42. 14; Kumarasambhava i, 11). The very name kinnara suggests the query "*kimnara*, is it a man?" Kinnaras are always described as going in pairs, *e.g.*, Bana (Kadambari, p. 226).

Gandharvas

The gandharvas are semi-divine beings ruled by one of the lords of the four quarters, Dhatarattha. They produced *nippurisa*, *i.e.*, "not human" music and are divine musicians. They are believed to dwell in the fragrance of flowers. The gandharvas are according to the Vidhurapandita Jataka ruled by Sakka (Indra) himself. This is because Sakka is the suzerain over the *caturmahārājika* world presided over by the four guardians of the quarters of whom Dhatarattha, lord of the gandharvas, is one. Among the gandharvas are Matali, the charioteer of Sakka, Cittasena, Pancasikha and Timbaru. Timbaru is reminiscent of the Hindu divine sage who plays the *viṇā*. Pancasikha is the husband of Suriyavaccasa, Timbaru's daughter, and constantly waits on Sakka. According to the Bilarikosiya Jataka Pancasikha was born among the divine beings, like his father Matali before him, because of his good deeds (iv, No. 450, p. 40). He is the divine minstrel *par excellence*. Among the Amaravati sculptures there is one (pl. iv, fig. 22) representing a naga and a garuda together with a person carrying a vina and thus very like Pancasikha in Buddhist sculptures from Mathura and elsewhere illustrating the visit of Sakka in the company of Pancasikha to Buddha in Indaselaguha. Though not in that scene this figure has been identified as Pancasikha by Dr. Coomaraswamy (12, p. 253), and though the identification cannot be taken as certain it seems extremely probable. If he is this divine musician, we have here an unambiguous Amaravati figure of a gandharva. Pancasikha is easily distinguished from other gandharvas by his *vīṇā*, which he played to Buddha before obtaining his permission for Sakka to visit him. This scene is often shown in sculpture, both Gandhara and indigenous.

The gandharvas are among the many godlings that were incorporated into Buddhism, from Hinduism. They were a mighty host in the Vedas but they do not appear there distinctly as divine minstrels. In the epics, however, scarcely one happy incident is described without the songs of gandharvas, the dance of apsarases and showers of divine flowers. Apsarases are the charming wives of gandharvas some of whom are represented and named in the Bharhut sculptures (Cunningham 1, pl. xv, fig. 1, p. 29). The names of the two most important, Haha and Huhu, sound exclamatory and suggest their marvellous nature.

Yakshas.

Yakshas at Amaravati are of two types. Some are dwarfish and some are of normal stature and proportions. Dwarf yakshas are sometimes shown as supporting atlantes (pl. xix, fig. 3) and sometimes as figures from whose mouths issue lotuses with stalks and leaves (Coomaraswamy 3, pl. 34 and 35) or the lotus stalks may be replaced by lotus garlands carried round their necks (pl. xliii, fig. 2). These flower garlands are sometimes pulled out of a makara's mouth and sometimes out of the mouths of dwarf yakshas by normally proportioned yakshas. The significance of the representation of lotuses proceeding from the vase, the mouths and navels of yakshas, the mouths of the makaras and from conches has been discussed by Coomaraswamy in his admirable book on yakshas. The dwarf yakshas are quaint beings, fashioned not without beauty, The turban of one of them (pl. li, fig. 2) is among the finest from Amaravati and worthy of Kubera himself (pl. iv. fig. 21). Its *kuṇḍalas* and other ornaments also do justice to the carefully chiselled face which is full of life. Some dwarf yakshas from Amaravati are very like the *gaṇas* of Siva, being pot-bellied with snakes for ear ornaments (Fergusson, pl. xcii, fig. 5). The presence among these Buddhist dwarfs of snake ear ornaments, otherwise a peculiar characteristic of Siva and his *gaṇas* may be connected with the fact that the Hindu Kubera, king of the yakshas and one of the lokapalas, is a dear friend of Siva, both living with their host in the Himalayas. The earliest sculptural concept of a figure approximating Ganesa seems to come from Amaravati (pl. xv. fig. 2).[1] There are no doubt yakshas with elephantine ears at Bodhgaya (Coomaraswamy 3, pl. 50) but not so like Ganesa as this one which has an elephant's head; temples and jaws as well as ears—all features, in fact, except the long trunk which is absent. It is the most amusing figure among the Amaravati sculptures and the conception of an elephant's head without the trunk is remarkable. Thus at Amaravati we find introduced not only dwarf yakshas of Sivagana type, but also a figure corresponding to Ganesa, the lord of the ganas (pl. iv, fig. 27). Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks that Ganesa is undoubtedly a yaksha type (2, p. 7).

There are also many figures of yakshas in natural proportions. Occasionally these stand by themselves and one such from the first period is named Candamukha in an inscription just above his turban (see below, p. 82). But most of them are bearers of the

[1] Coomaraswamy 2, p. 7, pl. 23. "But the earliest representation of an elephant-headed yaksha seems to be that of the Amaravati coping" figured in Burgess 1, pl. xxx, fig. 1 and Coomaraswamy 2, pl. 23, fig. 1.

garland decorating the outer side of the rail coping. The yaksha Punnaka is shown on his horse a number of times in scenes from the story of Yidhurapandita on the inner side of the coping (pl. xliv. fig. b, c, e, f, g, h, i).

Among the *dikpalakas* represented as guarding Māyadevi during her pregnancy and also as receiving the child on a silken cloth when he was born in the Lumbini garden under the Sal tree, Vassavana (Kubera) must be present. But he is shown in normal proportions like the others, not as a dwarf; so it is impossible to know which among them he is.

Yakshinis under a tree, and Lakshmi on the lotus attended by elephants, are favourite themes in early art. From Bharhut, Bhutesar, Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta come some of the finest specimens of yakshinis. Those from Amaravati, all of which are contemporaneous with Kushan sculptures, occur beside scenes on the rail coping and also in *kudus* or semi-circular roof niches with high-topped pinnacles crowned by *tri śūlas*. They sometimes stand on aquatic animals as in Jaggayyapeta (pl. liv, fig. 1-c). Sometimes they are shown under trees standing in graceful postures and holding on to their boughs while they adorn themselves, thus echoing Kalidasa's description (Meghadura ii, 4, 6 and 12; Sivaramamurti 6, pp. 4–12) of their perpetual youth and their pastimes attending to their toilet and arranging ornaments supplied by the wishing tree (pl. lxi, fig. 2). These early representations of yakshinis as *sālabhañjikās*[1] have given rise to the later *sālabhañjikās* which hold twining creepers running the whole height of jambs and pillars in later structures. The earliest textual references to such motifs are in the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Mahabhashya and Raghuvamsa. For the *nārīpravekas* (the best of women) adorning the Pushpaka palace of Ravana, semi-divine beings like yakshis under trees in the Mahabharata, the *pushpabhañjikās* (women plucking flowers from trees) in the Mahabhashya and the female statuettes adorning the pillars of the deserted mansions of Ayodhya are all creations of one common fancy.

Yaksha worship is pre-Buddhist, for the royal house of Magadha worshipped the yakshini Jara as their guardian spirit, and Jarasandha, one of the most formidable opponents of the Pandavas and father-in-law of Kamsa, was named after her. And Buddha himself is called a yaksha in some of the earliest Buddhist texts[2], in which there would have been no point unless yakshas were already highly venerated. One such guardian yaksha, Sakyavardhana, the tutelary deity of the Sakyas, is shown in the Amaravati sculptures (Coomaraswamy 2, p. 15) where baby Siddhartha, like other children of the Sakya tribe, is presented to the yaksha (pl. lix, fig. 2).

[1] The term *sālabhañjikā*, its antiquity, and examples of *sālabhañjikā*, etc., are all thoroughly discussed by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in his paper "The Women and Tree or Salabhanjika" (3, pp. 201–231). Note here the striking coincidence of the form of the *sālabhañjikā* on the *toraṇa* at Sanchi and the description of a *toraṇa-sālabhañjikā* in Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita (*op cit.* p. 208 and pl. i facing it). *See* also pl. ii and iii representing similar figures from Bodhgaya, Gandhara and Mathura.

[2] Yakshas in their dignified aspect are described in very early Buddhist works (*see* quotation from Mrs. Rhys Davids in Coomaraswamy 2, p. 4).

The yakshas of Hindu literature are noted, like the nagas, for extraordinary beauty and strength, their strength being generally expressed as equal to that of so many nagas of average naga strength. Tataka before she became a hideous demoness was a yakshi of ravishing beauty possessed of immense strength. The great strength of yakshas is clearly portrayed in representations of dwarfs supporting plinths and beams, evidently a survival from the early idea of nagas and yakshas as supporters of the universe in the various quarters. And dwarf yakshas support columns of vases aud foliage, while yakshas and yakshis of normal proportions support the garland on the rail copings, including the ones at Amaravati (pl. xix, fig. 3 and pl. xli, fig. 2).

Yakshas closely resemble nagas not only in their great strength but also in guarding treasures. For Kalidasa tells us (Meghaduta ii, 20) that Sankha, and Padma-nidhis-two of the chief treasures of Hindu mythology, are painted on either side of the doorways of yakshas' houses. And yakshas, like nagas, are generally believed to confer riches on their devotees. It may also be recalled that of the four lokapalas Dhatarattha, Virulha, Virupakkha, and Vessavana, the first and last are the lords of the nagas and yakshas respectively (Jataka iii, No, 382, p. 166). Vessavana is Vaisravana of Hindu literature, which is Kubera's patronymic. Unlike other yakshas Kubera (one with ugly body) as his name implies has little personal beauty though his representation at Bharhut is quite pleasing. Later representations of the corpulent god of wealth are examples that fully answer his name[1]. In the Mahabharata there are references to beautiful persons of unknown origin being mistaken for yakshas or yakshis or other comely semi-divine beings. Other names for yakshas such as *puṇyajanas* (good people) *guhyakas* (secretive or invisible people) indicate other traits.

Yakshas were popularly believed to reside in trees and offerings were generally made to them there. Thus Alavaka yaksha who ate all that came within the shadow of his tree was taught to lead a better life by Buddha, and men built a special abode for him beside his banyan tree and offered him worship thereafter. The Jatakas have also such instances of yakshas dwelling in the shelter of trees. Caitya vrkshas were believed to be the abode of yakshas, nagas, tree spirits, etc., and no one dared touch even their leaves. The association of yakshas with water (Jataka i, No, 6, p. 25) as also their superior wisdom is implied in the description in the Mahabharata of Dharma disguised as a lake-yaksha asking Yudhishthira to answer his riddles.

But there is a fiercer aspect of the yakshas described in Buddhist literature only which is also well shown in the Amaravati sculptures. Punnaka trying to kill the innocent Vidhura-pandita (pl. xliv, fig. 1–g) is an example, as are also the small dwarfish yakshas shown using weapons of attack. And the dwarfs of Mara's army are clearly modelled on dwarf yakshas

[1] For an early Kushan representation of Kubera as a short pot-bellied god, *see* pl. 4, fig. 2 in Coomaraswamy 3.

their bestial and ferocious nature being emphasised in an example from Amaravati by a lion's head deftly introduced on his belly. Yakshas as the children of Pulastya are brothers of rakshasas according to the epics, and it is possible that their close kinship has created a confusion resulting in the stress laid in Buddhist literature on their rakshasaic or demoniac qualities. Hence they are without an exception man-eating demons. Corpses they love most to taste. Though gifted with extraordinary power which enables them to enter the most zealously guarded palaces to fetch sweetly perfumed water, excellent royal food and the king's own golden sword from the innermost apartments and bring them to a burial ground to enable a king to bathe and feast there before dividing a corpse equally among the yakshas who had rescued him from burial, it is the flesh of a human being that alone satisfies them (Jataka i, No. 51, p. 132).

Even those of the gentler sex are no more gentle and a yakshi crunches may a new born child of a queen for whom she had developed a dislike in a previous birth as her co-wife. But there are cases when softer feelings prevail, for even this fierce nature was overcome by a tenderer urge for nursing a child wholly dependent on her when it put its mouth to her breast for milk (*op. cit.* v, No. 513, p. 12). Similarly the carnivorous spirit of a yakshi seems to have softened somewhat when love for a handsome youth whom she captured for her food deadened her hunger and they lived as man and wife (*op. cit.* iii, No. 432, p. 298). Even children brought up by yakshi foster mothers develop into cannibals (*op. cit.* v, No. 513, p. 12); but the rule is not without exceptions and a child born of a yakshi by a human father always resembles the latter rather than his mother in temperament (*op. cit.* iii, No. 432, p. 299).

Though by nature cruel the yakshas change their temperament when taught to lead a better life. Vidhurapandita's admonitions change the attitude of Punnaka who from a fierce being ready to kill and tear the heart of an innocent person develops suddenly into an amiable being to whom injuring such a creature is abhorrent (*op. cit.* vi, No 545, p. 150). A yaksha, who, as a cannibal, was a terror for a long time to all the inhabitants of a certain city, gives up his evil ways on the admonition of the Bodhisattva, and is brought and stationed near the city gateway to partake of rice offerings given him there and to protect the city (*op. cit.* iii, No. 398, p. 203). Yaksha figures on rail uprights of stupas at Bharhut, Jaggayyapeta, Amaravati, etc., and the gateway guardians in cave temples at Nasik and other places are reminiscent of this reformed yaksha.

Sometimes yakshas are affable and good and appreciate goodness, as for instance, the *Kumbhaṇḍa* yakshas who admire the faithful nature of a parrot risking its life to get a mango for his master's queen *op. cit.* ii, No, 281, p. 272). Not a single sculpture of the *kumbhaṇḍa* type of yaksha found in Mathura and Bodhgaya has survived at Amaravati, but to judge

from the few fragments of the rail that are preserved, and deny the sculptors of Amaravati a knowledge of the *kumbhaṇḍas*, when in all other particulars they have fully as great a knowledge of secular and religious life and thought, is not just.

Yakshas could at will make themselves visible or disappear. Sometimes they deceived people by leading thirsty caravans astray in deserts giving them hopes of water in the vicinity by appearing in dripping clothes and carrying lotus stalks (*op. cit.* ii, No. 1, p. 7). Yakshis, like the sirens of Greek mythology, tempt and carry shipwrecked merchants to their island only to eat them after a time (*op. cit.* ii, No. 195, p. 89). Yakshas are easily recognized by their unwinking red eyes and by the fact that they cast no shadows (*op. cit.* v, No. 513, p. 18; i, p. 6). A yakshi in one of the Jatakas is described as horse-faced. According to Hindu canons she would be a kinnari. Yakshas have a limited sphere of action beyond which they cannot proceed. It is this that prevents the horse-faced yakshi from pursuing her husband and son beyond the stream which was the limit of her domain (*op. cit.* iii, No. 432, p. 300). Some yakshas born in trees like the banyan have to eat just what comes under their shade and no other (*op. cit.* iii, No. 398, p. 201-2). The belief that yakshas could not get into a structure made of iron accounts for the birth of prince Ayoghara in a palace built of that metal (*op. cit.* iv, No. 510, p. 305).

Many if not all the yakshas have, like the devas, gandharvas and nagas, great reverence for Buddha and there are instances of yakshas converted by the great teacher to a better mode of living. A yaksha fond of eating babies refrains from such cruelty after Buddha's admonition[1]. The yaksha *Ajakālako yakkho* represented in one of the Bharhut sculptures was subdued by Buddha at Pava (Mukerji, p. 122) as stated in the Udana commentary. Yakshas bore the feet of Siddhartha's horse Kanthaka when the prince departed from Kapilavastu. This is an oft-repeated theme at Amaravati as elsewhere. Yakshas are also shown carrying the divine palanquin in which the Bodhisattva descended into Mayadevi's womb (pl, xxx, fig. 1). It is the urge of the voice of a yaksha that brings Anathapindika the great Buddhist benefactor to Buddha for his conversion.

That yakshas were popularly worshipped in early India is quite clear from the many representations of them from Bharhut and elsewhere. Apart from famous yakshas like Kubera and Manibhadra there were yakshas locally popular in many places. Yaksha Sakyavardhana was one such who was adored by the Sakyas at Kapilavastu. But all these instances are from North India. As early art was the same all over India yaksha worship may naturally be expected in South India as well. As has been proved by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran (1, pp. 135—153) Amaravati had at least one scene labelled as are many from Bharhut. Several yakshas from Bharhut have their names incised on the pillars on which they are

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[1]This is as Dr. Coomaraswamy (2, p. 9) observes an explanation of a cult.

carved. In early Amaravati sculpture where the earrings closely resemble those of Bharhut there are to be expected other similarities. Encouraged by Mr. Ramachandran's discovery of a labelled scene from Buddha's life in early Amaravati sculpture as at Bharhut I searched and found that there really existed a yaksha with his name carved above him (pl. xvi, fig. 1). The inscription has been read and edited by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda in the Epigraphia Indica (p. 269-270) but he was misled by the peculiar shape of *kha* which he took for *ga* and had therefore to suggest the lengthening of *ya* in order to give the reading *yagocada mugovaka nivāsi* and naturally the words were also split up incorrectly. The correct reading is *yakho cadamukho vaku nivāsi.* I have been unable to find any yaksha named *Cadamukha, i.e., Candramukha* (Sanskrit), mentioned in literature. Perhaps he was a local yaksha popular in Amaravati. *Vakunivasi* means one who resides in *Vaku* but the sense of Vaku is obscure. The presence of a tree and caitya beside the yaksha should explain it, for yakshas often lived in trees. The tree should then no doubt be a *Vakula* tree (*Mimusops Elengi*) the sculptor having missed the letter *la*. The inscription presumably means therefore, "The yaksha Candramukha living in the Vakula tree", and the caitya must have been erected there in his honour.

Śri, Siri[1] or Lakshmi.

The worship of Sri as a popular goddess, like the worship of yakshas, and much else already described, was pre-Buddhist, and the yakshi was the model for the representations of her form. Sri was associated with the northern quarter and Srimati or Sirima with the southern quarter (Mukerji, p. 124). In Sanchi and Bodhgaya her seat is the lotus In Amaravati there is an early representation of a lady on the lotus associated with dwarf yakshas (pl. xv, fig. 3), and she has been identified as Sri or Lakshmi by Dr. Coomaraswamy (4, p. 188). In addition a broken piece of later date from Amaravati bears part of the left half of the body of a goddess on a lotus holding a lotus in her hand. The rest is missing. Beside the lotus in the left hand is a small couchant elephant; above and below the animal are small human figures. This also appears to be a representation of Sri seated on a lotus and attended by elephants, but the elephant is turned away from the goddess and the *abhisheka* form of Sri is absent from Amaravati as already pointed out by Coomaraswamy (*op. cit.*, p. 187) Lakshmi on the lotus forms the basic concept of other similar ideas. Thus in the Asanga Jataka a beautiful lady is found in a lotus by a sage, and another echo is found in Bana's Kadambari. A similar origin for Sita is given in the Uttarakanda of the Ramayana.

A peculiar late Pallava carving from Kaveripakkam in the Madras Museum shows the ancient motif of Devi on the lotus, the most auspicious of flowers, bathed by elephants, animals suggestive of royalty and auspiciousness. Unlike later sculptures, where the elephants are symmetrical and mechanically balanced, there is here an air of antiquity in the

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[1] Sri is the Sanskrit, Siri the Pali form

very proportions and contours of the animals which, moreover, form a not too symmetrical pair. *Nidhis* on either side shown as the conch and lotus oozing coins—though the dwarfs presiding over the Sankha and Padma nidhis are absent—suggest the yaksha associations of Sridevi. The figure of Devi is of special interest, for the hands and legs are curled up at the sides so that the outline of her figure comes to form the *Śrīvatsa* symbol, the antiquity and significance of which must now be considered. The *Sirivaccha* (Pali) or *Śrīvatsa* (Sanskrit), the symbol of Sri occurs in pre-Mauryan terracottas and can be traced even in seals from Mohenjo-Daro and is thus one of the earliest of Indian symbols. It is used as an auspicious emblem by Hindus, Jains and Buddhists alike. Together with the gem *Kaustubha* it adorns the chest of Vishnu who is *Śrīvatsāṅkita vakshas*, for his chest is the abode of Sri, his spouse. The growth of the symbol from early times to late mediaeval, when it changed into a triangle is an interesting study (Sivaramamurti 2, pp. 21–24). In the eight *mangalas* of the Jains *Śrīvatsa* has an honoured place (Coomaraswamy 3, pl. xxxi). *Srīvaccha* is one of the auspicious symbols of the Buddhists, who, as Hardy has pointed out, have incorporated this and their other symbols such as the wheel and the svastika from the various symbols that existed around them. Just as the *pūrṇakumbha* flanks doorways as an auspicious motif, so at Amaravati the *śrīvatsa* adorns window tops, where it is associated with a yakshi, sweet as Sri, standing beside a wishing tree (pl. lxi, fig. 2). It is possible that this association was suggested by *Sirivaccha*, the yakshi being beautiful as Sri, perhaps even being Sri herself, while *vaccha*, in one of its many senses, means tree. According to Monier Williams Srivatsa means by derivation, that which is dear to Sri. The Pallava sculpture shows Sri completely identified with the Srivatsa symbol. Srivatsa as the symbol of Sri is often met with at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati (pl. iv, figs. 29; 35 and 38) and other places along with her anthropomorphic form.

Sri is the goddess of prosperity among Buddhists as well as Hindus, her presence or absence being supposed to account for good or bad fortune respectively. Thus when she dwelt in a white cock in the house of Buddha's famous disciple Anathapindika, and some one asked for it in order to secure her presence, and as she did not wish to leave Anathapindika, she went from the cock to a gem, from the gem to a club, from the club to Anathapindika's wife herself and thus prevented the wicked man from taking her away with him. This can be easily paralleled by notions of the presence of luck in a host of precious objects, which has led to Lakshmi being regarded as fickle, since she constantly changes her abode thereby making a man lucky or miserable. Another story of an auspicious goddess, presumably Sri, in the same house, gives us in Buddhist literature the Hindu conception of Sri as *Gṛhalakshmī*. There is also a Buddhist story of an auspicious goddess residing in a parasol (Jataka vi, No. 538, p. 3). The auspicious nature of Sri who can stay only in a pure and pleasant spot, a familiar Hindu idea, is repeated in the Buddhist story of Sirikalakanni where

the former, the beautiful and auspicious daughter of Dhatarattha is welcomed by Suciparivara (pure household) and given a special bed. Here she is described as spreading yellow radiance.

The Hindu concept of Sri is essentially that of a deity of beauty, auspiciousness and prosperity. She is good fortune personified. The Srisukta describes her as golden in colour and as wearing golden garlands. She is also of the hue of the lotus, is stationed on the lotus, holds lotuses in her hands and is awakened by the sound of elephants. The Ramayana describes the *toraṇa* of Ravana's city and palace as decorated with the figure of Lakshmi (v. 7, 14). She is there represented as stationed on a lotus, holding lotuses in her hands and attended by elephants that bathe her with jars of water. This is the *abhisheka* type of Dr. Coomaraswamy's descriptions (4, p. 183). Srisukta's description is faithfully followed in early sculptures at Bodhgaya, Sanchi, Udayagiri and other places. The Vedic concept of Sri as the Lady Bountiful, bestower of garments, food and drink. is closely related to the Vedic concept of Aditi the Lady of Vishnu, the Vedic precursor of the epic Bhudevi. Early sculptures contain suggestions of these concepts also. Thus the lady pressing her breast in the Lucknow Museum (*op. cit.* fig. 22) and the lady carrying food and water represented at both Mathura and Amaravati are sculptural echoes of Yajurveda passages describing " the rich in milk, the goddess . . , the lady of Vishnu" and Sri that "brings garments, cows, food and drink" (*op. cit.* p, 175). Her lotus associations and her bounty in the bestowal of food and drink are brought together, as Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out, in a sculpture from Sanchi (*op. cit.* fig. 16) which is the link between the yakshi type from Mathura and Amaravati and the lotus-inhabiting lady. Everything good and auspicious is believed to be the abode of Sri who is *Mangala*. Thus a good house gateway, flowers, banners, parasols, seats, beds, gems, charming married women with their husbands living, different fruits, grains, seeds, vessels, new clothes, cow, horse, elephant, and a host of other objects are the abode of Sri. She is the daughter of the milky ocean having arisen from it when it was churned by the demons and gods for nectar and she is thus the sister of the coolrayed moon who gladdens the world. She was chosen as queen by Narayana who is adorned with the *kaustubha* gem that also arose from the milky ocean.

Sri or Lakshmi has been a popular deity from very ancient times and representations of her form are found among Mauryan sculptures. Different concepts of Lakshmi such as Dhanalakshmi (goddess of wealth), Dhanyalakshmi (goddess of corn), Bhagyalakshmi (goddess of prosperity), Bhogalakshmi (goddess of pleasures), Rajyalakshmi (goddess of royalty), Viralakshmi (goddess of valour) are all suggestive of the presence of Sri in various auspicious things. In the Mahabharata, the goddess Lakshmi is said to be ever present in the mansion of Kubera; and it is this idea that gives the Buddhist pantheon a goddess Vasudhara (flow of wealth), a name suggestive of one of the most important symbols of Sri,

as the consort of Jambhala[1], the Buddhist counterpart of the Hindu Kubera. Vasudhara has a sheaf of corn in her hand. Here is a synchronising of two notions Dhanalakshmi and Dhanyalakshmi achieved by the name and the object held in the hand. *Sasyasampat* (abundance of corn), Dhanyalakshmi and related ideas can thus be traced back to a lady of plenty and prosperity, a yakshi type in the early sculptures. When we remember that she is always in the mansion of Kubera and that, as Coomaraswamy has pointed out, she is the only woman shown along with gnomes singly in the rail coping from Amaravati, her associations with the yaksha group is obvious ; Coomaraswamy rightly says (4, p. 182) therefore " it is hard to say where the Sri Lakshmi type should end, and that of the Yakshi should begin ".

SAKKA (INDRA).

Sakka occurs frequently in Buddhist sculptures from all over the country. In Graeco-Buddhist sculptures he is often strangely shown with beard and a bare torso. In this as Grunwedel (p. 91) observes he has been fashioned by the sculptor after a Greek classical model—that of Zeus or Jupiter. But even in Graeco-Buddhist sculpture there are also forms of Sakka without the beard where the model has been a youthful Brahmana. The former type cannot readily be distinguished from the Graeco-Buddhist form of Vajrapani. The distinguishing feature of the latter type of Graeco-Buddhist Sakka is his peculiar *kirīṭa* (crown), which, as Coomaraswamy has pointed out, appears in indigenous sculpture at some time after the period of the Sanchi gateways.[2] In Graeco-Buddhist sculpture, however, it is somewhat different from its counterpart in indigenous sculpture (Grunwedel, fig. 94, p. 142). In both, however, it is cylindrical in shape and is profusely ornamented as may be seen in sculptures from Mathura and Amaravati. Sakka's *kirita* in the Amaravati sculptures may be seen in pl. vii, fig. 8. At Ajanta the same pattern is continued in the Gupta paintings but with the addition of tassels (pl. ii, fig. m,n). Such tassels reappear on the crown of Vijayanagar Emperors such as Krshnadevaraya at a later date, though these were modelled on the head dress of Vishnu (Venkatesa), which had developed from the crown of Sakka at Amaravati. Sakka is the only god shown with a *kirita* at Amaravati. It is interesting to note that in the Mahabharata Arjuna alone, who was born of Indra, the Hindu Sakka, is called *Kirīṭi* (one with a crown). Up to the Gupta period the *ushṇīsha* or the turban was the head-gear for all other gods as well as for kings and other men of rank.

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1 The iconographic concept of Sri, Sri as such, disappears from Buddhist monuments rather too soon and in the later Buddhist pantheon we do not come across her in any form. (Grunwedel, p. 105). Vasudhara is the only faint echo of Sri associated with the northern quarter presided over by Kubera who degenerates into Jambhala.

2 Hence at Bharhut (Coomaraswamy 5, fig. 1 where the seated figure facing the seat and wearing *duppaṭṭa* is believed to represent Sakka) at Sanchi (*Ibid* figs. 2, 5 & 6) represent him with *ushṇisha*. All gods in early sculptures wear *ushṇisha* (*see* Siva as *uhsṇishin* in the sculpture at Gudimallam wearing a turban, compare Taittiriya Samhita, iv 5, 3).

The Rgveda contains a larger number of hymns for Indra than for any other single deity. They give the Vedic concept of him as the great drinker of *soma*, the all-powerful wielder of the *Vajra*, a weapon fashioned for him by Tvashta the divine smith (Macdonell pp. 54—66). And even in the verses of Kalidasa he can still boast of his unique nature which is next only to that of Siva, Vishnu and Brahma. But this glorious god, so glorious in the Vedas, is in the epics depicted as a lesser divinity full of passion, helpless against the demons who often vanquish him in battle, afraid of any who perform horse sacrifices and ever vigilant to see that such activities are hampered, maintaining a train of celestial nymphs that dance to amuse him and at his bidding interfere with the penance of sages which is always a nightmare to his suspicious mind. In short, Indra, the lord of the devas, with his body full of eyes, a result of his stealthy dalliance with the spouse of a great sage, defeated by every demon who managed to secure some protective boon from Brahma, running every time to Narayana for help now against Bali and now againt Ravana or some other demon, with even his usual popular festival stopped by a little child looking after cows, he is no longer the once supreme deity with a special glory all his own. His only might consists of his special capability of cutting the wings of mountains with his vajra or thunderbolt. Sometimes a new Indra like Nahusha attained that position by the performance of a hundred sacrifices, and then the old Indra had to run for his life and hide in the fibre of a lotus stalk leaving his faithful wife Saci to protect her chastity as well as she could by her own wits.

The Buddhists picture Sakra as the lord of Trayastrimsa heaven. According to the Bilarikosiya Jataka (Jataka iv, No. 450, p. 40; v, No. 53, 5, p. 203; i, No. 78, p. 198) and other stories his station can be attained by anyone through good deeds. He lives in the palace Vejayanta (Sanskrit Vaijayanta), rides the elephant Eravana (Sanskrit Airavata) and sports with his wife Suja (Sanskrit Saci) just as in Hindu lore. But instead of being *Purandara*, the destroyer of towns, as in Hindu mythology he is *Purindada* the bestower of towns (Grunwedel p. 38). His charioteer is Matali as in Hindu mythology. He wields the thunderbolt and is ever vigilant to see that all is right with the world. He enjoys all pleasures and is attended by celestial damsels of great beauty. A sculpture from Amaravati (Burgess I, pl. xli, fig. 5) shows Sakra, easily distinguished by his crown, surrounded by divine damsels, whom Buddha shows to Nanda to make him realise the disparity between divine and mortal beauty as a preliminary to learning the evanescent nature of youth and beauty in general.

Sakka now and then visits the terrestrial sphere, sometimes to see that order is restored, sometimes to test the goodness of a great person, and sometimes to teach a lesson and rectify the faults of a sinner. Utter evil in the world was stopped by Sakka when he appeared in the garb of a forester accompanied by Matali transformed into a hideous hound, which with its loud call struck terror into the hearts of men who were thus at once re-established in all virtues; for as Sakka tells king Usinara, the unrighteous and the wicked are his enemies.

Indra's use of the vajra for clipping the wings of mountains to prevent them flying about, as mentioned in the epics, is a Hindu example of the virtue-protecting and evil-punishing nature of Sakka.

In the Vessantara Jataka, Sakka visited the prince in his hermitage and requested him to give away his wife. This was partly to test the prince but more to guard the chastity and person of the princess, who, as Sakka well knew, was not too precious for Vessantara whose joy lay in giving away all that he was asked by others. Sakka similarly protected the chastity of the queens of king Okkaka (Jataka v, No. 531, p. 142–3). In the Sasa Jataka where the noble hare offered its body to the hungry guest, and in the story of Sarvamdada where the king nobly gave his own flesh to rescue the dove from the hunter, Sakka came to test the virtue of the virtuous. These are oft-sculptured stories. The Sasa Jataka is illustrated in an Amaravati sculpture now preserved in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. lxxxii. fig. 2(and the latter storv is repeated a number of times in sculptures preserved in Madras as well as in the British Museum (pl. xxviii, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl xxiv, and xliii, fig. 1; Fergusson, pl. lx, fig 1 and pl. lxxxii, fig. 2). These two stories and the story of Sakka testing the parrot, which last has its parallel in the Mahabharata, all come from a common pre-Buddhist stock of narrative.

Sometimes fondness for a descendant of his brought Sakka down to the earth to teach him a lesson, and in a story very like that of the Proud King by William Morris, Sakka assumed the guise of his miserly, lame, crook-backed, squint-eyed son and successfully kept him out of his own house and the royal court; nowhere was the poor man recognized till Sakka finally revealed himself thus establishing him in righteous deeds so that the miser became a good and liberal donor thereafter (*op. cit.* i, No. 78, p. 198–201).

Sakka's throne of yellow stone gets hot now and again when a Bodhisattva or some such noble personage desires a hermitage, a monastery, or some such thing (*op. cit.* i, No. 70). Visvakarma is then ordered by Sakka to go and construct the building. The throne also gets hot when a good person suffers and Sakka thus aroused goes to help the sufferer. Sujata's husband was thus saved (*op. cit.* ii; No. 194, p. 87) by Sakka as also Guttila the musician (*op. cit.* ii, No. 243. p. 175). Once Sakka was so kind as to save the abode of a number of young garudas at the risk of his life (*op. cit.* i, No. 31, p. 80–81). But this goodness of Sakka does not appear to be his invariable attribute. Like Indra in Hindu mythology, his position is shaken when great sages perform austere penance. According to the Abbhantara Jataka, a body of sages at Benares did penance till the glory of their virtue shook his abode, when he tried to distract their attention, adopting a low method for achieving his purpose (*op. cit* ii, No. 281, p. 269; also v, No. 523, p. 80). The Mandhatu Jataka contains the Buddhist version of the dethronement of Sakra by a virtuous king. There Mandhata shares the throne with Sakra instead of deposing him as Nahusha does in the Hindu epics.

The story of Mandhata is sculptured more than once in the Amaravati sculptures, Sakka being shown seated with Mandhata on a large rectangular throne—the throne of yellow stone so often mentioned in the Jatakas—where he is easily recognized by his peculiar crown (pl. xxxiii, fig. 1 f and pl. iv, fig. 25; Burgess 1, pl. v, fig. 2; Fergusson, pl. lxxvii). It may be remarked here that when two men of noble bearing, neither of whom is a nagaraja, are seated together on a single seat the subject may safely be identified as the Mandhatu Jataka. In Buddhist as in Hindu mythology Sakka sometimes deceives the asuras and sometimes gets worsted by them.

Sakka has great devotion towards Buddha and often attends on him, sometimes visiting him to get his doubts cleared. In the introduction to the Mahamangala Jataka Sakka learns the true nature of omens from Buddha whom he visited specially for the purpose. Sakka himself ministered to the needs of Buddha towards the close of his life when he was suffering from dysentery and Buddha then informed the wondering monks how on former occasions Sakka had attended on him, as for instance, in the Indasala cave accompanied by the musician Pancasikha (Dhammaped-atthakatha iii, p. 79; Digha Nikaya ii, p. 299-309, 21, 1, 263-289). Though the visit to the Indasala cave is a favourite theme in Buddhist sculpture (Coomaraswamy 5) no example of it has been traced among the sculptures from Amaravati.

From the Nidanakatha we learn how Sakka on many occasions helped Buddha before and after his enlightenment. When prince Siddhartha cut off his locks and threw them away with the turban just before he renounced the world they were received by Sakka and conveyed to the Tavatimsa heaven, the World of Thirty-three (gods). Later, when Buddha wished to bathe in a tank near the river Neranjara, Sakka helped him by lowering the branches of the tree on the bank. The food supplied by Sujata and partaken of by Buddha was filled with divine sap by Sakka. When after preaching to his mother in the Tavatimsa heaven Buddha returned to earth at Sankissa (Sanskrit Samkasya) it was Sakka who created three ladders for his descent, and while the master used the middle one which was composed of gold and jewels, Mahabrahma and Sakka bore a parasol and chauri respectively on either side (Dhammapad-atthakatha iii, p. 53). According to a vow taken by Sakka in a previous birth when he was a Cakravartin he took upon himself the responsibilities of a defender of the faith and he is thus a protector of the Buddhist Sangha (Grunwedel p. 90).

VAJRAPANI.

He is the bearer of the thunderbolt who ever accompanies Buddha in Graeco-Buddhist sculpture, and also occurs in the Amaravati sculptures though his vajra differs in shape there. Vajrapani is shown in two ways in Graeco-Buddhist sculpture, with and without beard, and his weapan is short, flattened and bone-shaped suggesting bone associations

and recalling its origin according to Hindu literature from the bones of sage Dadhici (Grunwedel, fig. 42, p. 88). The vajra held by Vajrapani in the Amaravati sculptures is three-pronged at both ends (pl. iv, fig. 26), being thus the precursor of the later vajra weapon in Hindu sculptures of Indra, Kartikeya, Kaumari and Indrani, and in Buddhist sculptures of Vajrasattva, Bhrukuti, Marici, etc., all in the mediæval period.

Vajrapani as the vigilant attendant of Buddha is carved in the Master's company in many scenes. He is present when a naga is subjugated (Longhurst, 2, pl. xl). When Erapatra is commanded to appear in his natural form Vajrapani protects him from the garudas (Grunwedel fig. 45, p. 94). Grunwedel discusses the Sakka-Vajrapani concept and comes to the conclusion that the two gods are derived from a single earlier one, showing how they came to be separated. Vajrapani in Amaravati sculptures is distinct from Sakra, his headgear being just a turban or ushnisha like that of any other man or god, the vajra alone being his special attribute.

Māra.

In Buddhist mythology Mara is Marapapiyan, an important god coming next to Sakka and Mahabrahma. He rules over the highest of the Kamadevaloka heavens. He is the tempter like the Satan of the Old Testament. Mara as his name implies personifies death and is ever ready to bring the world under the sway of the senses by temptations. One who restrains his senses and overcomes all these temptations also overcomes Mara. Buddha overcame all the temptations of Mara at various stages and is thus the victor of Mara.

Mara has a big following and rides a huge elephant known as Girimekhala (pl. iv, fig. 23). His tenfold army consists of lusts, aversion, hunger, thirst, craving, sloth, cowardice, doubt, hypocrisy, false glory and self praise. He has three daughters who tempt the Buddha, Tanha, Arati and Raga. Even though defeated, Mara dogged Gautama all his life, waiting for an opportunity to overcome him and sometimes begging him to die, sometimes to refrain from preaching his doctrine, sometimes acting as an obstacle to Buddha's endeavours as a preacher. In this and other respects, such as entering into a person to possess him, as for instance in the case of Ananda, he appears like Kali of Hindu mythology who dogged the foot-steps of the virtuous king Nala to overcome him.

In Amaravati sculptures Mara is shown sometimes on the elephant Girimekhala (pl. iv, fig. 23) and sometimes standing on the ground (pl. lx, fig. 1) trying to overcome Buddha or running away discomfited (pl. lix, fig. 2). His hordes are shown as gnomes full of evil; his daughters are beautiful sirens intent on wrecking the firm determination of Buddha, in which respect they are very like the nymphs of Indra in Hindu mythology who spoil the austerities of sages. As in the sculptures of the second and third centuries A. D. from Amaravati and Ghantasala (pl. lx, fig. 1 and Rea 1, pl. xxviii; also Rene Grousset, fig. 21) Mara's attack is graphically portrayed in sculpture and painting at Ajanta (Griffiths 1, fig. 64 and pl. 8; Yazdani 1, pl. xxviii). In the sculpture at Ajanta, Mara has a *makara* standard just like

that of the Hindu Manmatha who is Makaradhvaja[1]. His makara standard, which might be expected in later sculptures from Amaravati, may have been present in the broken casing slab (pl. lx, fig. 1) where other features, like the bow in the hands of Mara and gnomes with their bellies cleverly fashioned to show grotesque animal faces, show close parallels between Amaravati and Ajanta in the execution of the scenes. Such representations show a tendency to soften the Buddhist Mara by a touch of his Hindu counterpart.

Mara according to Hindu mythology is a pleasant god, more usually styled Kama or Love, akin to the Greek Cupid. He is accompanied by his bewitchingly beautiful spouse Rati or Passion and a friend Madhu or Vernal Season, has flowers as his arrows to be discharged from a sugarcane bow at his charming victims, beautiful youths and damsels. He rides a lovely parrot. He is also known as Makaraketana or Makaradhvaja[1] (crocodile-crested or-bannered) and was a popular deity in ancient India, ascetics and separated lovers suffering from pangs of love being the only persons who even thought of upbraiding him. He had temples dedicated to him all over the land, and literature abounds with references to *Kusumāyudhapūjā, i.e.*, worship of the flower-arrowed god. A crocodile flagstaff crest of the Sunga period found at a temple site at Besnagar[2] must be associated with him, as already pointed out by Coomaraswamy (3, p. 54). The crest on the flagstaff ordinarily depicts the vehicle of the god concerned and it is interesting to note that a makara is shown as the vehicle under Mara's feet in a terracotta of the Gupta period (Agrawala 1, pl. xv, fig. 49). Presumably therefore the makara and not the parrot was his original vehicle. This association with the crocodile no doubt comes from the period when Kamadeva was conceived as one of the yakshas, for yakshas are generally represented as standing on aquatic monsters. At Amaravati there is a broken upright showing the figure of a bowman, with the upper part of the body broken, standing on a makara and close to a symbol representing Buddha (Burgess 1, pl. xiii, fig. 2).

Sthāvara or Mahapathavi, the Earth Goddess.

Prthvi is shown in a Maradharshana scene from Amaravati (pl. iv, fig. 24) in which Buddha calls on her to be his witness for all the gifts that he had given in previous births to qualify himself to become the Buddha, who has thus the right to sit on the vajra throne beneath the Bodhi tree. Mara is questioning the right of Buddha to sit on the *vajrāsana* under the Bodhi tree and Buddha is shown calling the earth to be his witness as he, unlike Mara who has a host to be his witnesses, has no other but the earth. The Nidanakatha says that there

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1 Coomaraswamy quotes Foucher's L'Art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara ii p. 196, figs. 400 & 401 for the occurrence of the makara standard in the same scene in Gandhara representations. Similar Gupta sculptures from Sarnath are mentioned.

2 *See* Cunningham's report, vol. x, pl. xiv; Dir. Gen. Arch.'s Annual Report for 1913-14 pl. liv; and Coomaraswamy 3 for the correct interpretation of the object given by Dr. Coomaraswamy.

was at once a deep rumbling to answer his call (Nidanakatha p. 101 : Grunwedel, p. 100 foot note 3). In the sculpture, the earth goddess (pl. lxiii, fig. 4-c) is shown beneath the seat of Buddha. The Earth Goddess is shown only up to her waist just as described in the Lalitavistara but the figure is too small to show the various ornaments.

The concept of the Earth Goddess Prthvi may be traced to the mother goddesses of the earliest periods who must be regarded as her forerunners. As the goddess who presides over vegetation and prosperity, and as the mother of all living beings she has parallels all the world over. In the hymns of the Rgveda, Dyaus and Prthvi are conjointly praised ; and in the Yajurveda she is "Aditi the easily milked, the rich in milk, the goddess......the lady of Vishnu, the mild... ..."[1]. Prthvi is later, in the epices, the second queen of Vishnu who delivered her from the ocean in the form of a boar. As Rasa, Visvambhara. Vasundhara she is the "life essence", "world supporter" and "treasure receptacle". The earliest Hindu sculptures of this goddess are of the Gupta age (see Varaha sculpture in the Udayagiri cave, Coomaraswamy 1. pl. xlvi, 174). But earlier representations of Rasa-Surasa-Suparni-Aditi-Bhutadhatri go back to very early times as Mr. Agrawala has proved in his paper on Mathura Terracottas (p. 19-27).

In the story of Buddha this goddess is mentioned as twice coming to his help. As prince Siddhartha was leaving his city to become a monk he desired to have a last look at his beloved place of birth, and mother earth turned round as on a potter's wheel to help him see the city without himself turning round for the purpose. Two sculptures are given in Grunwedel's book to illustrate this incident and in both cases the Earth Goddess is shown beneath the horse Kanthaka (Grunwedel figs. 50 and 51). As we have already seen, the goddess appears a second time on Buddha calling her as his witness when Mara questions his right to the seat under the Bodhi tree.

ANIMALS.

Two main types of animals are carved on the marbles from Amaravati, mythical and true. The mythical are called *īhāmṛgas*, animals of fancy, and are a jumble of parts of beast, bird and reptile. They can be further subdivided into aerial, terrestrial, and aquatic types by the presence of certain limbs which distinguish animals of each region. The addition of wings to beasts makes them aerial. Such are generally shown on the capitals of pillars in a sufficiently elevated position to suggest residence in aerial regions. Aquatic monsters are distinguished by the hind quarters which are fish-like. There are thus, horses, elephants and bulls that "suffer a sea-change into something rich and strange." These are appropriately shown below figures of yakshas and yakshis to suggest their sphere. Mermen come

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1 *See* Coomaraswamy 4, p. 175 for his conclusions regarding the identity of Aditi and later Bhudevi, consort of Vishnu. *See* Macdonell, p. 88, for Vedic concept of Prthvi.

under the same category. Figures of beasts with a beak like that of a griffin have to be classed as terrestrial monsters when they lack wings since lack of pinions confines them to land. The merman and a quaint figure of a man with crocodile-head, a unique figure, should be considered nearer the human being than the animal even in that monstrous shape.

These animals are used in all early structures as architectural motifs. They are found in almost identical shape at Bharhut, Jaggayyapeta, Sanchi and Amaravati. It is interesting to compare them with early texts describing such animals as adorning buildings. In the Ramayana there are excellent descriptions of cities and palaces. Ravana's palace *Pushpaka* is the most magnificent of them all. This is said to be adorned with *īhāmṛgas, i.e.*, animals of fancy. The word should not be taken in its ordinary connotation, that of an antelope, but in the sense suggested by the compound *īhānusārī mṛgah* or *īhāmanusṛtya krto mrgah, i.e.*, animal wrought after the (sculptor's) fancy or imagination (Sivaramamurti I, p. 90).

In the Vidhurapandita Jataka *pāṭhīnas, pāvusas, vālajas, muñjas* and *rohitas* are all mentioned as sea monsters, being grouped with crocodiles, porpoises and tortoises. In the Ramayana mention is made of mules with the head of lion or fox. Such animals of fancy seem to have been well known to all early peoples; and the quaint animals with human heads from Mohenjo-Daro resembling the couchant ones from Mathura, suggest that these strange creatures have a very ancient lineage within India. Thus when the winged lion of Persia resembles such a one at Sanchi or Amaravati, when a Greek centaur resembles the centaur from the Mathura architrave, when the kinnaras of India resemble the harpies of Greece but without their rapacious nature, and when the lions and chariots come close to the Assyrian model, they may be taken as developments of a common heritage showing points of similarity but differing in details for obvious reasons. This is the view taken by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his "History of Indian and Indonesian Art" and it seems the most acceptable, but absolute denial of mutual influences among people who had great commercial and political relations with one another is futile.

MYTHICAL ANIMALS.[1]

Lion type.—Five types of mythical lion were carved at Amaravati, with wings (pl. iv, fig. 7), with beak and wings (pl. xl, fig. 1), with beak alone (pl. iv, fig. 14), with horns (pl. iv, fig. 15), and with a human face (pl. iv, fig. 12). The first is a winged animal, similar to the animal common in Persian sculpture. The animal with beak and leonine body is to be associated with the griffin whether it has or lacks the wings. The same animal is shown with a slight difference in the shape of its rump at Sanchi (see Grunwedel, fig. 25 on p. 49). The lion with a human face (pl. iv, fig. 12) recalls the Egyptian sphinx. At Amaravati it lacks the horns and beard which it bears at Sanchi but the mane is shown both at Sanchi

[1] For real lions, etc., *see* below, p. 95.

and at Amaravati. Grunwedel takes these animals at Sanchi for oxen and buffaloes and finds parallels to them in Assyria and Greece (Grunwedel, pp. 50-51). But the mane of the animal is composed of curls and is clearly that of a conventional lion like those at Amaravati and elsewhere and a comparison of the Sanchi figures with figures from Amaravati (pl. lviii, fig. 1) makes the identity of the animal obvious. The horned lion of Amaravati is a meek animal that imbibes the gentle spirit of the antelope and deer along with its horns, one of them is even shown eating grass from the hands of a dwarf (pl. xix, fig. 2), a thing treated by poets as proverbially impossible (*e.g.*, Bhartrhari i, 21). Horned lions at Sanchi, on the other hand are ferocious though bridled and provided with wings and riders (Grunwedel 1, fig. 10).

Elephant type.—There are two kinds of elephantine monsters carved on the Amaravati marbles. One is an ordinary elephant with wings (pl. iv, fig. 9) and the other is an elephant with the hind quarters of a fish (pl. iv, fig. 11). Airavana, the celestial elephant, that soars on high and moves in the high roads of heaven provides the root idea of a flying elephant with wings.[1] The gem among elephants according to the Buddhists is of the Uposatha class and Cakravarti maharajas own and ride the animal. In the Kalinga Bodhi Jataka the prince rides such an elephant and travels in the sky. In the story of Vessantara the precious rain-giving elephant is the offspring of a magnificent celestial elephant that was accustomed to fly in the sky. Since flight is always associated with birds and their wings, pinions were usually added to terrestrial animals to suggest their powers of flight though this was not an invariable rule.

The elephant with its hinder part of fish-like form, though curious enough is less curious than the makara (see below p. 94) with its elephant's trunk and short lower lip, crocodile's eyes, leonine feet and fish's body and tail, from which it is quite distinct though both are purely Indian. Valmiki in describing grim battles, often compares the entire military hosts to a large river or ocean full of fishes and crocodiles in the form of elephants and horses (Ramayana vi, 94, 11). There are also sculptures of horses with the tail of the fish and suggestions of Valmiki's fancy may have roused curiosity in the sculptor's mind as to how the figure would appear if actually shaped in permanent material. Further, the elephants of the four quarters (*diggajas*) are said to reside in the nether world, Patala, which is an aquatic region and as the fish symbolises water the sculptor probably thought of this device to suggest their region. *Gajavaktra jhashas* and *mīnavājis* are mentioned in the Mahabharata (see below p. 51 and Sivaramamurti 4, p. 183). Kalidasa calls the former *mātanga nakra* (Raghuvamsa xiii, 11)[2]. Dr. Coomaraswamy (3, p. 50) refers to *Jalebhas* in his "Yakshas" as animals well known to literature and jalebhas cannot be better represented than in this shape. Grunwedel (p. 57) had already called them sea-elephants and while using that name as a synonym of makara described the animal itself as "a creature formed of the foreparts of an elephant with a body and tail of a fish." He cites early figures found at Bodhgaya and gives a later

1 The illuminated manuscript of Matangalila or Elephantology in the Sarasvati Mahal Manuscripts Library at Tanjore contains a number of figures of elephants with wings.

2 *See* Sivaramamurti 6, p. 31.

figure (*loc. cit.*, fig. 33) which shows the development of the fish tail into an ornament. He also says that this later became the ensign of Kama because of Greek influence after the model of Aphrodite's dolphin. This appears most improbable for the makara ensign of Kama is clearly derived from the fish-crocodile for reasons already explained (above, p, 90).

Equine type.—Among sculptures of mythical horses at Amaravati, as of elephants, two kinds have to be recognized, those with wings (pl. iv, fig. 8) and those with fish tails. The latter though common in the Indian art of the second century B.C., have not survived among the sculptures from Amaravati of that period which are not very many. They can, however, be studied in contemporary sculptures from Jaggayyapetta in the same district (Burgess I. pl. lv, fig. 1) which resemble closely similar figures from Bharhut. This winged animal presumably comes ultimately from the Hindu concept of the celestial horse Uccaisravas. But Buddhists believe that the Cakravarti maharaja has a splendid horse jewel of the Valaha class; in the Valahassa Jataka a flying horse is mentioned (Jataka ii, No. 196, p. 90). It soars in the sky like the horse of the yaksha Punnaka in the Vidhurapandita Jataka (*loc. cit.* vi, No. 545, p. 146). And these horses no doubt provided the immediate suggestion of these winged animals to the sculptors.

Water horses, *i.e.*, horses with fish tails, presumably arose together with the sea-elephants and in the same manner. In figurative descriptions of battle-fields in the Ramayana horses are compared to fish and makaras.

Makara.—The crocodile and fish are the parents of the Indian makara. The earliest representations of the makara at Bharhut, Amaravati, etc., have crocodile heads, the body being that of the fish with scales, tail and fins. Sometimes a single pair of legs is added and horns are introduced above the eyes. The makara slowly develops a snout, somewhat like the curled trunk of an elephant, and the lower lip dwindles into insignificance.

The makara of the first period at Amaravati is partly crocodile and partly fish. The ear is fin-shaped with frilled edge. Horns are absent. The scales and fins are beautifully worked (pl. xv, fig. 3). In later Amaravati sculptures the horns are sometime those of rams, loosely drooping from the head, and ears are absent, their place being taken by horns. The tips of the horns are sometimes shaped like a fish-tail, an idea suggested by the *jhasha* or the horn-fish (pl. iv, fig. 16). Occasionally a pair of legs like those of crocodile are added. Slowly the crocodile jaws diminish in length ; yet the creature still approximates to the crocodile after whom his ancestor was made.

The teeth are prominent even in early sculptures. In those of mediaeval times they curve up beside the snout like the tusks of a boar, while the body slowly evolves into that of a land animal, short legs like those of a rhinoceros appear, and the tail spreads floridly into a decorative appendage. It is thus that this strange animal, descendant of the original makara but transformed almost beyond recognition, appears in Indian mediæval sculpture and is

found in Chalukyan and other temples. The slight tapering and curling of the snout of the crocodile to make it resemble the trunk of an elephant is among these later developments. Though it may possibly, as Cousens (pp. 227–231) has suggested in his interesting paper on the makara, have resulted from the influence of the snout of the tapir which it comes closely to resemble, the influence of the elephant seems more probable since in every other respect the makara is purely Indian. Elephant, boar, rhinoceros, ram, crocodile, fish and possibly tapir, thus all seem to contribute to this last strange jumble as discussed and illustrated in Cousens's paper already mentioned.

Mermen.—Figures of mermen are found among the earliest sculptures at Bodhgaya and are as old as the Sunga emperors (Coomaraswamy 18, central frieze in fig. 15 on p. 53 and a sketch from pl. xlii, 1 and pl. li, 3). Mermen are generally half-men and half-fish but some at Bodhgaya have the fore-legs of horses arising from beneath their stomachs (*loc. cit.*, fig. 15 lowermost frieze). This composite creature no doubt arose in the same way as the water-horse and makara. But it has the same form as has Matsya, the fish incarnation of Vishnu, who is shown in two different ways, sometimes simply as a fish and sometimes as a merman. Though his earliest representations are generally Pala and Chalukyan, he occurs much earlier in literature, and no doubt these two concepts of his are equally early, Gupta representations also being known to exist, and the corresponding two concepts of Varaha, the boar incarnation are both illustrated by various sculptures of the Gupta period.

Mermen are known the world over, and the form mostly shown at Amaravati is the usual one, half-fish, half-man (pl. iv, fig. 13).

Miscellaneous.—Perhaps allied to the mermen is a curious creature found in a single sculpture which has the head of a crocodile on a human trunk, recalling some of the strange creatures with animal faces described in the Ramayana as followers of Ravana. The crocodile head is of the early makara type, but the makara body is replaced by that of a human being (pl. iv, fig. 10). The winged deer (pl. iv, fig. 17) is a creature closely allied to the other winged animals already described.

TRUE ANIMALS.

In contrast to the mythical animals described above, the true animals shown in the sculptures are most natural, each being as a rule an excellent specimen of its kind. The elephant in a wealth of characteristic postures (pl. iv, fig. 1 ; pl. xxvi, fig. 2), the horse standing or galloping with or without rider, bulls running, lions and lionesses mostly seated and gazing intently (pl. iv, fig. 2), cattle brousing lazily (pl. iv, fig. 5), slow moving buffaloes with long fluted horns (pl. iv, fig. 4), grazing deer suddenly pricking their ears to leap and flee from danger (pl. iv fig. 3), rams rushing at full speed with heads lowered as for an attack (pl. iv, fig. 6), and other animals as well as the many birds, differing in form and variety, are all used for decorative or other purposes. Sometimes they are introduced into creeper designs but they are usually found at their best in scenes from the Jatakas or elsewhere.

GLIMPSES OF LIFE IN THE SATAVAHANA (ANDHRA) PERIOD

ROYAL EMBLEMS, ATTENDANTS, ETC.

The king as the most honoured person in the state has always had certain distinguishing marks that singled him out as the foremost in any gathering. They are the *rājānka*, symbols of royalty. The Jatakas enumerate five such symbols—the *ūshṇīṣha*, or turban, the pair of fly-whisks, the umbrella, the sword and the sandals (Jataka v, No. 530, p. 136). According to Kalidasa the three most important of these are the umbrella, luminous as the moon, and the two fly-whisks.

UMBRELLAS.[1]

The umbrella (*chattra*) is of special importance in the east. It is as essential as the shoes or turban in a tropical climate. The umbrella *par excellence*—the white one – was held over the king in whose presence no one else dared to hold a parasol. Such an umbrella was beautifully made with numerous clearly marked ribs (Ramayana iii, 64, 45 ; vi, 59, 24 ; Jataka v, 532, p. 170) elegant and slender in shape and the handle was adorned with gold work (Kadambari, p. 11). It would be held over the king, nobles or others entitled to use it by umbrella bearers, *chattradharas*. Princesses and other women of rank had *chattradhāriṇīs* to carry the umbrella behind them. A beautiful sculpture from Amaravati shows a *chattradhara* holding the umbrella over his master (pl. v; fig. 2). As described in the Jataka (v, No. 531, p, 162) the umbrella bearer like the chauri and betel-bearers accompanied the king even on an elephant (pl. v, fig. 16). Commenting on a passage in the Cullavagga where Buddha forbids the monks from having sunshades held over them Rhys Davids and Oldenberg observe that the handle of the umbrella was fastened to the rim and not in the centre (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 133, Cullavagga v, 23, 3). But there is no such example known among the Amaravati or other sculptures. In the same note, quoting from the commentary of the Bhikkuni Vibhanga Pacittiya, the material used for the manufacture of humbler varieties of umbrellas is given as leaves and matting, aad the frame as *maṇḍalabaddha* and *salākabaddha*, words that are taken to indicate the two methods of fixing the handle. The words *maṇḍalabaddha* and *salākabaddha* refer to the ribs and rings of bamboo forming the framework. They can be seen in the humbler variety of umbrella carried by a townsman of Rajagrha in the Amaravati sculptures (pl. v, fig. 10).

The white umbrella being a prerogative of royalty other colours had to be used by the people. Penzer (p. 265) says that the Burmese kings bore the title Tibyuzaung 'wearer of

[1] For a detailed account of the umbrella see the interesting note "Umbrellas", forming appendix ii by N. M. Penzer in vol. ii of the "Ocean of Story", C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara.

the white umbrella' and that the lesser officials had umbrellas of other tints—red, pink and green. The Jatakas describe parasols presented by the king to officers such as treasurers. They were thus a sign of office and denoted the rank in the state of the possessor.

Umbrellas had also their religious significance, and great *yajvas* or Brahmans who had performed *vājapeya* sacrifices were presented with umbrellas by the king himself (Mahavira-carita Act iv, 57 p. 163), Umbrellas have always been held over deities in procession and placed on the tops of temples and temple cars. Kautilya says that caityas—*vrksha caityas* or *devakulas*—were adorned with umbrellas on new and full moon days (Arthasastra, p. 256). Similarly, umbrellas were placed on the top of stupas to honour the sacred object in them like the deity in the temple. Attendants are shown waving the chauries and holding the parasols over Hindu deities in sculpture. Parasols and fly whisks by themselves are also shown above many Pallava and early Chola images of gods and goddesses ; triple umbrellas and chauri bearers invariably occur in representations of Jain Tirthankaras. When Buddha descended from the Trayastrimsa heaven at Sankasya attended by Mahabrahma and Sakra, one of these deities held the parasol and the other waved the fly whisk beside him. In such instances the umbrella has religious significance and does not connote temporal power.

Some of the umbrellas held over objects like the Bodhi tree and lhe stupa in the carvings on the casing slabs are double with a single handle (pl. xxi, fig. 1 and pl. v. fig, 6). A number of umbrellas arranged together over stupas (pl. xxix, fig. 3) was no doubt intended to indicate the superiority of spiritual over temporal power. In the second and the third centuries A.D. these umbrellas over the stupa grew rapidly into an amazing number, sometimes arranged one above another, sometimes sprouting sideways (pl. lxi, fig. 1) from a common base, and medieval votive stupas all over the land came to be surrounded by a cone derived from umbrellas arranged in the former style. Festoons and garlands adorned many of the early umbrellas at Amaravati which were gemdecked and beautifully fashioned (pl. v, fig. 1). They are thus *divyamālyopaśobhita* as described in the Ramayana (iii, 64, 45).

Fly Whisks.

Fly whisks, as their name *vālavyajana* indicates, were yak-tail fans. These form the next most important emblem of royalty. *Cāmaradhāriṇīs* (fly whisk bearers) known also as *kirātīs* (Raghuvamsa xvi, 57) attended on the king with *vālavyajanas* whose handles were fashioned in pure gold (Kadambari, p. 17). The umbrella was held over the king only when he came out of his palace but the fly whisks were used almost always, whether within the palace (pl. li, fig. 1-a) or riding out (pl. xlix, fig. 1-c). The fly whisks were gently waved by the *cāmarādhāriṇīs* one at a time alternately. A fine pen picture of a *cāmaradhāriṇī* resting languidly with the golden handle of the whisk lying idly on her shoulder is given by Bana (*loc. eit.* p, 28). This exactly corresponds to representations in the paintings at Ajanta (Griffiths i, pl. 55 and Herringham, pl. ix) and the carvings from Amaravati (pl. v, fig. 7).

Being a favourite theme of the painter and sculptor all over the land it is no wonder that the *cāmaradhāriṇī* is a delightful oft-repeated subject at Amaravati. Since chauries (*cāmara-vījanī*) were the prerogative of the king, Buddha forbade their use for his monks (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 132, Cullavagga v, 23 and note below); but like umbrellas they were freely used for religious purposes aud there are many representations of them being waved before stupas, cakras, etc. (pl. xxxiv, fig. 2).

FANS.

But in addition to the chauri there were other fans made of palm leaves, bark, *uśīra* grass or peacock's feather s (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 131 v, 22, 2 and 23, 1) all of which were used commonly though the last two were specifically used by the king. A fan of state, made probably of *uśīra* grass and gaily chequered is always held by an attendant close to the king in all court scenes (pl. v, fig. 8). Perhaps it was to spread the aroma of this sweet smelling grass. It closely resembles the *ālavāṭṭam*, an emblem of royalty used like the umbrella and parasol in temple processions even to this day, and may be its early parent as suggested to me by Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri.

HEAD-DRESS, SWORD AND SANDALS.

Tbe *ushṇīsha* (headdress), *khadga* (sword) and *pādukā* (sandals) were worn by the king and were therefore generally carried on his person, but there were special attendants to carry them when he chose to go without them. Different varieties of ushnishas, among which the most magnificent was worn by the king, are discussed under dress (above pp. 104–105); and it will suffice to say here that the ushnisha in early sculpture is a turban *veshṭana* not a crown (*makuta*).

THRONE.

The king's throne was known as the *bhadrapīṭha* or *simhāsana* (Pali. *sīhāsana*) and was decorated with a pair of lions suggesting royal power. Its representations in the Amaravati sculptures are dealt with under 'furniture.' Kings also used ordinary *pallankas* in their private apartments.

BANNERS.

Banners (pl. v, fig. 4) with the special mark (*lānchana*) of the royal house were carried before the king, or behind him if the standard-bearer (Digha Nikaya, 1, p. 68 ii, 14) was seated with him on the same elephant (pl. xiv, fig. 2-d). Sometimes these banners fluttered from the battle top of a chariot. Sometimes the bearer walked along banner in hand (pl. v, fig. 3). In the field was an array of flags one for every prominent warrior. But the king's own standard was a superb banner whose protection from dishonour was the duty of every soldier, lord or king. Crocodile-bannered Manmatha and monkey-bannered Arjuna are famous in the

epics. A human head adorned the flag of Ravana, a snake that of Prahastha, We learn from history that the monkey adorned the banner of the Kadambas (Rice 2, p. 26), the boar that of the Chalukyas (South Ind. Ins. iii, 20, p. 37) and the fierce tiger that of the Cholas (*loc. cit.* iii, 20, p. 37). The flags were of broad white silk (Epigraph. Carnat. iii. T. Narsipur No. 102) with bamboo staff (Kadambari, p. 89) usually decorated with golden cover. A banner in the Amaravati sculptures resembles the flag carried on the back of an elephant at Sanchi (Marshall & Foucher 2, pl. xliv) and is an imposing emblem of authority. Prepared in gay colours, it must have been a lovely ornament to any procession. The banner like all other royal emblems was also used freely for religious purposes. In fact the righteous king himself was likened to a *Dharmadhvaja*—the banner of Dharma, righteousness (Kadambari, p. 83). The flutter of small flags suggest joy and festivity and they were freely used for this purpose by all to decorate cities, houses and places of worship such as caityas and devakulas. The flags in the hands of the gods accompanying the Bodhisattva descending from Tushita heaven in the form of an elephant suggest the exuberance of their joy.

Cornucopia or Cup-bearer.

A huge and richly decorated horn of the cornucopia type is carried by a comely woman in many scenes where the king figures (pl. v, fig. 5). Mr. Agrawala tells me that such a horn is mentioned in the Mahabharata. The mention in the Ramayana (iv, 26, 33) of auspicious *vrshabha śrngas* or bovine horns perhaps refers to such. This figure and another of a woman offering wine (pl. lix, fig. 1 d) are Greek in type wherever they occur, their foreign appearance contrasting strongly with everything else in Amaravati sculpture and emphasising by contrast its truly indigenous nature.

Sword-bearer.

The sword-bearer (*khadgavāhinī*), a female personal attendant on the kings and princes (Kadambari p. 34) is often depicted in Amaravati sculpture, where she may be seen close beside them with her master's sword, the emblem of his power, on her shoulder (pl. iii, fig. 2). According to Kautilya most royal attendants, especially the bodyguard, consisted of Amazon women, and the sculptures tend to confirm this.

Usher.

Closely akin to the sword-bearer is the figure of the usher (*pratīhārī*), a lovely Amazon guard at the king's inner doorway through whom permission to meet the king had to be obtained. She announced visitors to her master and on his assent ushered them in. One sculpture of her now in the British Museum, especially recalls the beautiful description of the *pratīhārī* given by Bana (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). A huge sword hangs by a strap from her left

hip but the wielding of this weapon would be but child's play to such an Amazon, whose beauty is as arresting as her personality is awe-inspiring (pl. v, fig. 9: also pl. vi, fig. 11 from a lovely sculpture at Nagarjunakonda).

THE KANCUKI.

The *kañcuki* is the guardian of the harem, always as described in Sanskrit literature, an old man in white apparel, silver-haired, with a faltering voice (*loc. cit.*, p. 36), slowly moving about in the chambers and halls of large palaces staff in hand deploring old age with its attendant infirmities and service under a master with its numerous difficulties (Sakuntalam Act v, 3 p. 192). In the Arthasastra the attendants of the inner apartments (*abhyāgārikas*), of whom the *kañcuki* is chief, are described as meeting the king soon after he rises from his bed in the morning. All *varshavaras* (eunuchs), *abhyāgārikas* are there described as *kañcukoshnishibhih* (Arthasastra text, p. 42), *i.e.*, as wearing *kañcuka* (shirt) and *ushṇisha* (turban).[1] It is interesting to see that this is faithfully pictured in early paintings and sculptures. Among the Amaravati sculptures there are many representations of the kancuki with his long shirt, peculiar high-topped turban, long staff and wrinkled and careworn face (pl. vii, fig. 14). The appropriateness of the name kancuki lies in the fact that he is the most conspicuous among the very few who wore shirts in ancient India.

HUNCHBACKS, HUNTERS AND DWARFS.

Among the many who formed the retinue of kings, princes and princesses were the *kubjas* (hunchbacks), *kirātas* (hunters) and *vāmanas* (dwarfs) of both sexes (Arthasastra, p. 44). They were conspicuous because of their queer or ferocious figures and are often mentioned in literature (Buddhacarita iii, 12; Ratnavali Act ii, 3, p. 43) as well as being favourite subjects in court scenes in early sculpture. They served as attendants and carried betel boxes, mirrors, jewels, jewel-boxes, umbrellas, or fly whisks and made themselves generally useful and busy in the royal apartments.

In sculptures from Amaravati a *vāmanikā* (dwarfish woman) is shown carrying the betel box of a prince (pl. v, fig. 13). Another vamanika in the service of a princess fastens the *mañjīra* (anklet) on the feet of her mistress (Fergusson, pl. xcvi, fig. 1).

Kubjās are humped women (pl. v, fig. 14) in the service of princesses and queens (Kavya prakasa x).[2] Khujjuttara the hunchbacked servant of Queen Samavati is carved in the scene from Udayana's life on one of the uprights from the Amaravati rail (pl. xxxiv, fig. 1-c). Kubjas can also be seen in other palace scenes (Fergusson, pl. lix, fig. 2 and in Mackenzie's drawings in Burgess I, pl. xv, fig. 3).

[1] Dr. Shama Sastri translates the term *kancukoshnishibihih* as "Kancuki (presenter of the king's coat) and Ushnishi (presenter of the king's head-dress)" (Arthasastra, p. 44). But just as in the previous sentence of the text the term *dhanvibhih*—armed with bows—qualifies *striganaih*—troops of women—here also *kancukoshnishibhih* qualifies *varshavarabhagarikas*.

[2] *See* Kavyaprakasa x, 440, p. 752, where the abandoned pet parrot of the princes calls for the *kubjā* in the desolate palace.

The *kirāta* is a hunter in attendance on the king ready to accompany him whenever he chooses to go hunting. A typical kirata may be seen in the scene of the noble king giving away his flesh to save a dove from a hunter (pl. xxviii, fig. 1). He wears only shorts. He carries two kinds of nets—*vāgurā* and *jāla*—the former large, the latter smaller but with a long handle; and from his shoulder hangs from a strap a gourd, evidently to carry his food. Among his weapons is a small dagger or knife (pl. x, fig. 9).

Doorkeepers.

The *dauvārikas* or doorkeepers carrying spears similar to those mentioned by Kautilya (Arthasastra, p. 44) may be seen near the apartments where the king sits in the company of his ministers and other officers of state (pl. lvii, fig. 1). They are sometimes shown behind screens (pl. xxviii, fig. 1-a) in an apartment or outside the building (pl. xxxv, fig. 2-a).

Mahout and Groom.

The mahout (*hastipaka*) and the groom (*aśvapālaka*) were also important servants in the king's household. The mahout as pictured in the Amaravati sculptures seems to have had a happy time. He is always shown with his head lazily resting on his arms as he looks down and idly watches the crowded scenes and busy life around him. The elephant waits a long while (pl. v, fig. 15) and when the master at last climbs the richly caparisoned animal with attendants waving the chauri (Jataka v, No. 532, p. 170) and holding the umbrella over him the mahout urges the animal to move along. The bells on either side hanging from the trappings tinkle lazily till, when the ride is over, the elephant is made to stop and the royal rider descends (pl. v, fig. 16 and pl. xliii, fig. 1-d).

The groom (pl. v, fig. 17) looked carefully after the horse and kept it ready for his master. In sculpture he is usually shown beside a horse awaiting its master. Channa the groom and charioteer of prince Siddhartha is ideal for the class. They were like the pages of mediæval Europe, faithful and true, and their dress is a short *kañcuka* or shirt resembling a Roman tunic.

Royal Personality.

But in addition to all the emblems and attendants distinguishing a king, his own personality singled him out in any gathering. He had special marks of high birth and breeding. His gait, demeanour and heart were equally noble. Even his pose as he sat at ease was so attractive that it soon came to be called *mahārājalīla*, the sportive royal attitude, common in mediæval Buddhist sculpture. Long before it got a technical name the pose occurs in representations of kings seated at ease in early sculpture (pl. xxxiii, fig. 3-b). Thus seated happily the king held in his hand not a sceptre but a *līlāravinda*, a sportive lotus, symbol of

his finer instincts and love of fine arts (pl. v, fig. 12) and watched the dexterous movements of dancers as they answered to the note of the flute and harp in an *avarodha sangītaka* or dance orchestra of the harem (pl. xxviii, fig. 3).

ORNAMENTS AND DRESS.

A great poet desiring to emphasise physical beauty has asked "What is not an ornament for fair form?" (Sakuntalam, Act i, 17 p. 35). But ornaments properly fashioned and arranged in their respective places certainly add to the charm of fair form, just as of rhetoric it is said that "as bracelets and the like, by promoting the beauty of the person, advantage the man, so Alliteration, Simile, and other figures, which, by adding to the beauty of word and sense, serve to aid the flavour or the like, are styled Ornaments" (Sahityadarpana, p. 333). This element of ornament is recognized in art as in literature; and the standard work on Indian sculpture and painting, the chapter on Citrasutra in the Vishnudharmottara says "as the element of line pleases the masters, so shading or modelling pleases others of a different school of thought, the element of ornament womenfolk, and abundance of colour the lay public." In the last half line common folk are mentioned. The rest are persons of aesthetic taste. That womenfolk in India were repositories of aesthetic learning and taste need not be repeated. Their every item of toilet, the arrangement of flowers on their coiled hair, their choice of dress, their cultivation of fine arts like music and dance, their dexterous drawings of the Rangoli and Kolam patterns speak for that. In additlon to this we have numerous literary instances in Sanskrit of women with aesthtic and literary tastes.[1] Thus *striyo bhushaṇamicchanti* (women desire ornaments—Vishnudharmottara) implies that their opinion on ornamental taste has to be respected. This does not deny jewellery to men, who, as we know, delighted equally in arraying themselves in these fineries, but just points to its special sphere, jewels being generally associated with women who have always set the fashion and directed jewellers in their work.

The taste of women in the matter of jewellery two thousand years ago has been excellently recorded in the sculptures of the period. The ladies in Amaravati sculpture have on their person quaint jewellery that is as important to a student of cultural history as to the intelligent jeweller who assiduously studies patterns. The important discoveries of Schlieman, Evans, Petrie and others have given to the world actual specimens of jewels from Mycenae, Crete, Egypt and other places, of nations that have ceased to be more than memories in literature. In India comparatively little jewellery has been recovered by excavation, for when her greatest poet, speaking of the funeral of Indumati, says pathetically that her husband "left her to the flames with her own self as her last ornament"[2] he describes the

[1] Rajasekhara's mention of the learned women in the Kavyamimamsa, the aesthetic women mentioned by Damodaragupta in Kuttanimata and the numerous instances in the Kathasaritsagara are some that may be noted.

[2] Sir John Marshall has given an identical explanation in his interesting paper on Buddhist Gold Jewellery in the Dir. Gen. Arch.'s Report for 1902–03.

general Indian mode of disposal of the dead, from whom all ornaments are removed before cremation. We must therefore be specially grateful to the sculptor whose work serves as the best ocular commentary of what literature has to say on the jewellery and dress of their periods.

Comparison of patterns of dress, ornaments, and headgear with familiar objects abound in literary works and helps us to understand them in sculpture. Thus the multicoloured plume of the peacock is compared by the poet to the flower-bedecked hair of a lovely woman, and the quivering body of the long dark cobra to the single long rope of uncombed tresses of a separated wife gently trembling as she sobs.

Different patterns of dress and ornament are for different occasions. Bridal silkware (*vadhūdukūla*) has the swan border. An *abhisārikā*[1] has blue or white apparel according as it happens to be a new or full moon night. Unmarried girls have no *kaccha*. Kings like others wear only turbans (*ushṇīsas*) as a rule, but on special occasions wear crowns (*kirītas*). The tinkling waist-band (*raśanā*) and anklets (*mañjīra*) do not sound on the waist and feet of the wife who is separated from her lord and she neglects her toilet till he returns. To indicate her auspicious nature the pregnant woman has but a minimum of jewellery. Yellow silks betoken the lady that is delivered of a child. The dancer usually wears drawers (*ardhoruka*) and her frail dress is so fashioned as to show off the perfection of her limbs, the greatest qualification for an exponent of her art. The housewife wears a veil on her face to avoid the gaze of any except her wedded lord.

VEIL.

The veil is beautifully depicted in sculpture at Bharhut (Cunningham 1, pl. xxi, fig. 2), where it is elaborately worked and covers half the face. According to the Mrcchakatika it seems to cover the head. As an indication of gentle nature even to-day this is worn by most women of north India but they cover their heads more slightly. If taken in this sense, and not in the more exaggerated sense of a complete veil, it will easily explain the beautifully worked strips of cloth that cover the forehead and tresses of women in early sculpture all over India. It may originally have been a complete veil at least in the case of princesses (cf. Panini iii, 2, 36 and *asūryampāśya rājadārāh*), and occurs thus in a single Bharhut sculpture.

FOREHEAD GEM.

The central gem on the forehead where the hair is parted is known as *caṭulātilakamaṇi*, It was usually composed of gems full of effulgence (pl. viii, fig. 21). *Lalāṭikā* an ornament for the forehead (according to the sutra of Panini *Karṇalalāṭāt kan alankāre* iv, 3, 65) may have been either the long jewelled strip along the forehead (pl. vi, fig. 5) or a decoration with sandal paste or similar unguent as described by Kalidasa and Bana.

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1 A lady who decks herself and goes by night to meet her lover at an appointed place.

TURBAN (USHNISHA).

Men wore an *ushṇīsha* (turban) on their head. This is an essential part of dress in India where nothing is so important as protection from the tropical sun and *ushṇīsha* as the name suggests is that which wards off heat *ushṇam īshate hinasti iti* (Apte's Dictionary on ushṇīsha) from the root *isha gatihimsādarśaneshu*. The mode of tying the turban is suggested in its name *veshṭana* (Raghuvamsa viii, 12), *i.e.*, wrapped or coiled around (the head) *veshṭyate anena iti veshṭanam*) from the root *veshṭa veshṭane*); and there is a particularly interesting sculpture from Bharhut showing the mode of tying the turban (Cunningham 1, pl. xv, fig. 2). The method of placing the diadem in the centre and setting it in position as the folds go around it is also shown. In the Nidanakatha there is a lengthy description of how Sakra tied the *ushṇīsha* on prince Siddhartha's head. The large jewel is placed centrally and keeping it in position the cloth is then wrapped about the head. There are a number of *veshṭanas* or circuits of the cloth over the head, and the rays of the jewel give a multiple appearance to the folds. The central jewel is a beautiful adornment for the head and is excellently carved in sculptures at Amaravati and Mathura (pl. vii, figs. 2, 3, 5, 7 and pl. ix, fig. 3). The folds of the turban are also equally interesting (pl. vii, figs. 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10). In the Mahaummagga Jataka the *maṇi* or jewel is stolen from the *cūla* or royal crest (Jataka vi, no. 546, p. 186). This may or may not be as Dr. Coomaraswamy (11, p. 820) believes a single gem, but it is certain that it is the circular jewel coming in the centre. The term *maṇi mutta kañcana vicitta molibaddho* (turban composed of precious stones, pearls and gold in variegated fashion) may mean either the whole turban as Coomaraswamy interprets it, or the jewelled and gem studded crest ornament alone (*loc. cit.* p. 820). In the latter case pearls hanging from the centre of the circular jewel may be those mentioned.

Even women sometimes wore the *ushṇīsha* as we see in the Bharhut and Sanchi sculptures, but this seems to have gone out of fashion soon after, for there is nothing in Amaravati to suggest the turban of a woman unless the head-dress of the *vṛkshakā* (pl. viii, fig. 21) can be regarded as such. The earliest references to the *ushṇīsha* are Vedic and its antiquity is thus very great.[1] The sculptures, and especially the early paintings from cave x at Ajanta (Burgess 3, pl. viii, fig. 4, pl. x), show the method of wearing the *ushṇīsha* which has been so well described by Kalidasa. The hair on the crown of the head is adorned by *prasādakas* (valets) with strings of pearls, interwoven with flower wreaths and brilliantly studded with effulgent rubies (Raghuvamsa xvii, 23). In sculptures (pl. ix, fig. 3) rows of pearl and other gems are clearly visible. Interwoven flower wreaths are easily recognised by their form which is identical with that of the garland on the coping of the rail. The colour of the hair that peeps between the folds of the turban can be observed only in paintings as at Ajanta

[1] *Ushṇishiṇe giricarāya kuluñcānām pataye namah.* Rudradhyaya.

(pl. i, fig. 1a). In the description in the Gāthasaptasati (ii, 88) of the justly offended lady who forgets her anger and talks once more with her repentant lover as she disentangles his locks of hair from her anklets where they are caught (as he tries to soothe her anger by falling at her feet) it is these intertwining locks peeping through the turban that are meant. Centrally above the forehead the front of the turban has a big knot artistically arranged in a circular shape (Harshacarita p. 109). The cloth used was sometimes pure white, the type of turban Kshemendra so often describes (Bharatamanjari 3, 394); sometimes it is dyed in colours to suit special occasions, priests wearing it red while officiating at sacrifices (Ratnavali Act 1, 4 p. 3), lovers wearing it dark on a night of the dark fortnight while proceeding to meet their ladies at the appointed place (Kadambari p. 118); and sometimes on a joyous and special gala occasion turbans of golden cloth were worn (Jataka v, No. 532, p. 170).

Differences between various types of turbans are implied in Vidhurapandita's statement "Let him not put on a garment like the king's nor garlands nor ointment like his; let him not wear similar ornaments—let him always a different attire—" (*loc. cit.* vi, No. 545, p. 142). Station in life and individual capacity to spend on fineries settles this. The king's *ushṇīsha* is the turban *par excellence* as one of the emblems of royalty (*loc. cit.* v, No. 532, p. 170; Nagananda Act, i) and judging by Vidhurapandita's statement there must have been different types of turbans for various social grades and for signifying various offices. Quite a large variety of turbans are shown in the sculptures from Amaravati (pl. vii, figs. 1 to 14). Sometimes the jewel was placed centrally above the forehead (pl. vii, figs. 5 and 7), sometimes sideways to the right or left (pl. vii, figs. 2 and 3, pl. i, fig. 6 b) and sometimes a big knot of jewelled cloth was arranged in the centre to beautify the turban (pl. vii, fig. 6); sometimes one end of the jewelled turban cloth folded into a loose frill was tucked immediately above the forehead (pl. vii, figs. 4, 12 and 13) much as it is done to-day, and sometimes it was allowed to flow from the centre of the circular knob like a half opened lady's fan turned upside down (pl. vii, fig. 10). Ornamented golden strips known as *paṭṭabandhas* (Raghuvamsa xviii, 44) were sometimes arranged on the *ushṇīshas* (pl. vii, fig. 2).

KIRITA (CROWN).

The *kirīṭa*,[1] is shown at Amaravati as a short cylindrical cap studded with gems and ornamented with designs. As noted in the table on pp. 38-39 it is here worn only by Sakra (pl. vii, fig. 8).

MONKEY CAP.

A peculiar head-dress resembling a monkey cap is also worn, generally by old people, specially *kañcukis*, perhaps to cover an almost bald pate (pl. vii, fig. 14). May be it is

[1] Coomaraswamy has discussed the *kirīṭa* in 5, p. 40-41.

something approximating to the skull-cap mentioned in the Mahaummagga Jataka (vi, No. 546, p. 187) as worn by Senaka and others who were ashamed to come out in public without covering their shaven heads.

COIFFURE.

The head-dress of women in the Amaravati sculptures is a fascinating study. There are many patterns. Hair plaited or otherwise dressed and allowed to flow down almost to the hips, with jewelled strips running all along above it, is the *Praveṇī*. This lovely mode of dressed hair has inspired Kalidasa to say that the beautiful dark stream of the Jumna with golden flamingoes fluttering on its surface in continuous streaks suggests the plaits of mother earth bedecked with golden strips (Raghuvamsa xv, 30). There are many figures from Amaravati to illustrate the *praveṇī* (pl. vi, fig. 6 and pl. ix, figs. 7, 8 and 16) but the golden decorations are best seen in pl. ix, fig. 4. The *praveṇīs* end in tassels (*gucchas*) which are sometimes ornamented with gold caps studded with pearls and gems (Padataditaka p. 39).[1] *Ekaveṇī* (without ornament) is the undressed hair of the woman separated from her husband. Lack of occasion no doubt accounts for the absence of this type of hair in the Amaravati sculptures.

Curly hair is most beautiful and is often described by the poet (Jataka v, No. 526, p. 105; vi, No. 540, p. 49) and sculptured or painted by the artist. A Satakarni king records the fears of a lady who implores her husband, just returned after a long journey, not to go away again since her curly hair straightened by neglect during the separation has not yet resumed its original curly shape (Gathasaptasati iii, 73). These curls have been immortalized by the sculptors of his realm. The sinuous flow of the hair and especially the *cikuras* or *bhramarakas*, *i.e.*, the small ringlets near the forehead, can best be seen in pl. ix, fig. 2.

Keśapāśa is a specially charming mode of arranging the hair in the form of a loop. Sometimes it is bound with the loop close to the head (pl. vi, fig. 1); sometimes it is a loose knot with the loop lower down (pl. vi, fig. 2); often the *keśapāśa* is decked with flower wreaths (pl. ix, fig. 2). It is this loosened *keśapāśa* with pendant flower wreaths that Kalidasa compares to the variegated peacock's plume (Raghuvamsa vii, 6; ix, 67). In the term *keśapaśa* as also in the term *karnapāśa*, *pāśa* must be taken to mean "beautiful" as well as noose or loop, in the former case suggesting abundance of hair as well (Amara ii, 6, 98).

Kabarībandha differs from *keśapāśa* in its lack of the loop and is simply the hair rolled up. Flower wreaths invariably adorn it (Venisamhara Act vi, p. 183; Gitagovinda 21). As its name suggests it is variegated, a charming characteristic that is clearly shown even in sculpture (pl. viii, fig. 21; pl vi, figs. 4 and 9).

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[1] Modern *jaḍaguccus* (*jaṭāgucchas*) are not different from them.

Dhammilla is to a woman what *maulibandha* is to a man, each being an elaborate dress of hair with flowers, pearls and jewels. That this mode of hairdressing was greatly admired in the Satavahana realm is recorded both in literature and in sculpture. *Dhammilla* is ornament enough to excite passion in the lover's heart (Gathasaptasati vi, 44). The pearl-bedecked hair repeatedly described by Kalidasa is of *dhammilla* form (Raghuvamsa ix, 44; Meghaduta i, 66).[1] An excellent example of *dhammilla* is shown in pl. viii, fig. 23. Even the loosening of the *dhammilla* is a charming sight appreciated by the Satakarni king (Gathasaptasati iii, 91; Bhartrhari ii, 25). The *dhammilla* has secured a place of importance as an ideal form of coiffure and is often seen in South Indian bronzes of later date (Chola period, etc.). The early Chola image of Sita belonging to the Rama group from Vadakkupanayur in the Madras Museum supplies a superb example of *dhammilla* from a period long after that of Amaravati.

In a mode of hairdressing sculptured alike at Sanchi, Mathura and Amaravati, which has been called a captivating or alluring bunch of peacock-plume by a Satavahana ruler (Gathasaptasati vi, 72), the hair is arranged above the head to spread fanwise somewhat like a frill (pl. vi, fig. 3).

Jaṭās (matted locks) are worn by ascetics of both sexes, and are tied up in a heavy bundle known a *jaṭābhāra* a few stray locks flowing down the neck and back (pl. vi, fig. 7 and pl. ix, fig. 1). These strands tied up and flowing on the back or scattered about in violent action characterise later sculptures of Siva—Pallava, Chola, etc. The *jaṭābhāra* and *dhammilla* are the two most important modes of hairdressing recognized by the not too imaginative later Silpa texts.

Śikhaṇḍa is hair dressed into an egg-shaped ball and is usually associated with children.[2] Krshna as a baby boy is often shown with his hair thus arranged Though this is primarily a juvenile mode of hairdressing it is also sometimes followed by older people. There are figures in some of the Amaravati sculptures of youths with ascetics' *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* combined in their hair arrangement (pl. vii, figs. 15 to 18).

Jewels for the Head.

Among the jewels used on the heads of women the gem *cūḍāmaṇi* and the *makarikā* (crocodile jewel) are the most important, both being worn on the parting of the hair (*sīmanta*), the former at the hinder end and the latter right on top of the head. The *cūḍāmaṇi* of Sita is described in the Ramayana as a large gem from the sea. But usually it is shaped like a full-blown lotus with many petals all composed of pearls and precious stones. Beautiful examples of the *cūḍāmaṇi* are among the jewels carved in the Amaravati sculptures and

[1] For the spectacular beauty of *dhammilla* see Caurapancasika 116.

[2] *Koṇḍai and s'iṇḍu* are derived from *s'ikhaṇḍa*.

the best of them is in pl. ix, fig. 4).[1] The *makarikā* is also known as *cūḍāmaṇimakariakā.* It is a lovely ornament with the *makarī*, or mythical fish-crocodile decoration. The makara design being an oft-repeated motif in jewellery the place of the ornament it decorates is often mentioned along with it; thus Bana uses the term *cuḍāmaṇimakarī* (Harshacarita p. 33), and Mankha, *uttamāngamakarī* (Srikanthacarita i, 56) which means *makari* of the head. There are some lovely representations of the *cūḍāmakarikā* in the Amaravati sculptures (pl. lx, fig. 1) but they are somewhat worn and the sketch (pl. vi, fig. 10) from one of the sculptures from Nagarjunakonda, the most delightful representation of the *makarī* on a lady's head, gives a better idea of the jewel.

EAR ORNAMENTS.

Jewels for the ear mostly set with gems (Gathasaptasati iv, 2) are of various patterns each with a distinguishing name. The most common form of ear-jewel is the *kuṇḍala*, shaped like a coil, a word obviously connected with *kuṇḍalin*, the Sanskrit word for snake, just because it curls up like a kundala. This is rather a heavy ornament and the least body movement caused it to sway to and fro (Raghuvamsa ix, 51; Bharatamanjari ii, 405). There are many beautiful representations of *kuṇḍalas* (pl. viii, figs. 1 to 5 and 10).

Kundalas are of various types. The simplest are crescent-shaped ones, the ordinary *mṛshṭakuṇḍalas* (Pali. *maṭṭhakuṇḍalas*) mentioned in the Jatakas, which are often shown on the ears of Amaravati figures (pl. viii, figs. 5 and 23; pl. vii, figs. 8 and 13), the finest example being on the ear of a yaksha (pl. li, fig. 2). The line in the Nalinika Jataka "and from each ear a curved ring depending did appear" (v, No. 526, p. 104), describes them. Actual specimens of this kundala, which was used all over India, were found in Taxila during the excavations that were carried on there by Sir John Marshall (5, pl. xxvi, figs. 9 and 10). A more elaborate type of earring is the *makara kuṇḍala* so common in later sculptures. The beginnings of the *makara kuṇḍala* can be seen among the Amaravati sculptures, (pl. ix, fig. 3), but only in Gupta sculpture does it develop into the fantastic animal with curled snout characteristic of medieval sculpture. Pearl tassels dangle from the open mouths of these later makaras, but do not appear at Amaravati. In the Kunala Jataka the kundala of the queen is described as having the shape of a lion's head. Lion heads and crocodile heads are very often interchanged as motifs of design on jewels. There is another type of kundala commonly found all over India in the earliest sculptures. This is square with a full-blown lotus carved on it the stalk of which is twice curled on the earlobe and then hangs freely. One of the earliest sculptures from Amaravati, one which is proved by its inscription to be contemporary with the Bharhut sculpture is of a head with this kind of earring (pl. viii, fig. 22). Other sculptures showing it are figured by Rea in his report on excavations at

[1] Big *cuḍāmaṇis* like this are to-day known in South India as *rāgaḍis* and smaller ones as *tirugubillais*. *Uccuppu*, a small baby's crest jewel, is significant in its name.

Amaravati (Rea 3, pl. xxix, fig. d). This type must be identified with the *karṇaveshṭana* described in the Ramayana (v, 15 and 42 ; also Kasika on Panini v, 1, 99) since it is the only jewel that, as that name signifies, entwines the earlobe. Very similar ear ornaments on the ears of terracotta figurines are styled *mṛṇālakuṇḍalas* by Mr. Agarwala (1, p. 16 and 19, pl. ii, fig. 6, pl. iv, fig. 13). He describes them as " a lotus stalk curled twice to form the earring and then terminating in a fullblown lotus at the top."

Jewelled kundalas though worn by men, were not altogether discarded by women ; and in the Gathasaptasati (iv, 98) there is a verse describing the altered circumstances of a lady in whose ears, which once bore golden kundalas, are to be seen strips of rolled palm leaf. But the usual ornament for the ears of women was the *tālapatra*, a small strip of tinted palm leaf, a simpler and cheaper ornament. It is very auspicious and is a sign of *saumangalya*, *i.e.*, good fortune in wedded life,—in other words, with the husband living. But like most simple ornaments the palm leaf has its richer counterpart in costlier material. The *kāñcanatālapatra* (Padataditaka p. 39) or *kanakapatra* (golden leaf) applied to the ear with significance as described in the Caurapancasika (79), the *dantapatra* (ivory leaf) for playful young women (Sisupalavadha i, 60) and the *muktāphalapatravesṭana* (pearl leaf scroll, Raghuvamsa xvi, 67) are *patrakuṇḍalas* [1] or costly ear ornaments on the rolled palm leaf model. Pl. viii, fig. 1 and pl. xviii, fig. 1 (right ear of the man with the boy) are representations of the *patra* from Amaravati. There are also beautiful representations in the early sculptures of Jaggayyapeta (Burgess, 1, pl. liv, fig. 3).

The *kanakakamalas* mentioned by Kalidasa (Meghaduta ii, 11) are circular earrings with fullblown lotus pattern. The name and pattern have survived to the present day in the *kammals* worn by South Indian women. These, often ruby-set to give the appearance of lotus, sparkle like pomegranate seeds (Amarusatakam 16 ; Jataka v, No. 527, p. 111) and are the *ratnakuṇḍalas* of the Silpa texts.

Another jewel for the ear resembles the pericarp of the lotus turned upside down. The pericarp of the lotus is called *karṇikā* and the jewel modelled on it is *karṇikā* (according to the sutra *karṇalalātāt kan alamkāre*—Panini iv, 3, 65). Examples of this jewel are among the sculptures from Amaravati (pl. vii, fig. 17) and Nagarjunakonda (pl. vi, fig. 11). The *jimiki* (Tamil) which was worn in South India till about three or four decades ago is in shape and name identical with the pericarp of the lotus and is a survival of the *karṇikā*. Actual *utpalas* or blue lotuses were sometimes worn on the ear (pl. viii, fig. 20).

The ear jewels known as *trikaṇṭaka* and *bālikā* are probably also shown in Amaravati sculpture. The former as its name signifies has three tips (Harshacarita pp. 22 and 133) and the pointed cone-edged cylindrical earring shown in some Amaravati sculptures (pl. viii, fig. 3) seems to agree with this description ; while the *vallika* mentioned in the Cullavagga which

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1 Representations of Siva with *patra* and *makarakuṇḍalas* suggest his Ardhanarisvara or half male, half female aspect.

is almost certainly the *bālikā* mentioned by Bana (Harshacarita pp. 32 and 166) may be identified with the earrings in pl. viii, fig. 4 following Buddhaghosha's explanation "*vallikā ti kaṇṇato nikkhantamuttolambakādinam etam adhivacanam*" (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 69, Cullavagga v, 2, 1).

NECKLACES (HĀRAS).

The numerous names used to distinguish different kinds of necklaces show how varied these ornaments must have been. Pearls were the gems most commonly used for them. but sometimes other gems were introduced, or gold beads. A single string of them formed a *yashti*. A number of such *yashtis* were worn. The central *maṇi* or gem called the *nāyakamaṇi*, *i.e.*, the leader among the gems was large (Meghaduta i, 49). Varieties of necklaces and other jewels are elaborately discussed by Kautilya in his Arthasastra (pp. 84–85).

A simple and effective necklace was the *ekāvalī* (pl. viii, fig. 6), a single string of pearls (Harshacarita p. 135). A string of pearls with a precious stone in the centre forms the *yashti* necklace but when the central gem is a large sized pearl it is a *śīrshaka* (Arthasastra, p. 84). Distinguishing pearl from precious stone is impossible in sculpture and those illustrated in pl. viii, fig. 21 and pl. i, fig, 1 c may be either of these. Similarly *apavartaka*, a necklace composed of alternating pearls and gold globules, and *ratnāvalī*, a variegated necklace composed of gems, pearls and gold globules (*loc. cit.* p. 83) cannot be distinguished from one another in the sculptures. The size and number of all the pearls in most necklaces, or of the central pearls in others determined names for them such as *śīrshaka*, *upa śīrshaka*, *prakāṇḍaka*, *avaghaṭaka*, and *taralapratibandha* (*loc. cit.* p, 84) but the number of strings composing the jewel determined names of yet others such as *vijayacchanda*, *ardhahāra*, *raśmikalāpa*, *guccha*, *nakshatramālā*, *ardhaguccha*, *māṇavaka* and *ardhamāṇavaka* (*loc. cit.* p. 84). A precious stone introduced among pearls added a suffix *māṇavaka* (*loc. cit.* p. 84) to the name of the necklace.

Several strings of pearls adorn the necks of most figures in early sculptures (see the painting from Ajanta pl. i, fig. 1 b, sculpture from Bharhut pl. i, fig. 1 a and Amaravati pl. i, fig. 1 c) but not so many as are enumerated here, since it is difficult to show them in sculpture effectively. The suggestion of these varieties has to be understood.

There is another variety of *hāra* known as *phalakahāra*. It is composed of three or five slab-like gems (*loc. cit.*) p. 84). This is one of the oldest types in India and is usually seen in Mauryan, Sunga and early Andhra sculpture. The phalakas are rectangular gems or brocades coming at regular intervals on the pearl or precious stone necklace composed of many strings (see sculptures from Bharhut, pl. i, fig. 1 a and Amaravati, pl. vii, fig. 5).

Necklaces of cotton thead perfumed with such scents as the purse of the individual could afford were used by women (Jataka vi, No 546, p. 161). Children always wore a necklace of tiger's claws (Kadambari, p. 40; Harshacarita, p. 134) but none are clear in any of the sculptures.

Necklets (Kanthis).

The *kaṇṭhikā* is a rich neck ornament set with precious stones such as rubies and emeralds which, judging from the beautiful description in the Gāthasaptasati (i, 75), must have been very lovely. It seems probable that the golden *kaṇṭhī* of to-day is a survival of the somewhat flattened circular neck ornament seen in Bharhut and other early sculpture but without their jewels (see the ornaments closely encircling the necks of a youth from Bharhut, pl. i, fig. 1 a and Lakshmi from Amaravati, pl. iv, fig. 29).

The Ramayana (v, 5, 25) describes a jewel worn by Sita that was called *nishka*. *Nishka* is a gold coin (Jataka vi, No. 546, pp. 237-239; vi, No. 547, p. 282) and gold coins worn as jewels are ornaments of great antiquity (Bhandarkar 4, pp. 64-69). Dr. Bhandarkar quotes from the Jain canonical work Kalpasutra and gives another synonym of *nishka*, *urattha-dīnāra-mālaya*, *i.e.*, a string of Dinaras on the breast; and mentions a modern Maharashtra coin necklace *putalya* as a survival. (*loc. cit.* p. 67). The *mālai* (Tamil) of to-day is but another form of *nishka*, which is shown in sculptures from Amaravati and elsewhere. The gold coins were strung on a silken string or on a plaited gold cord. Excellent examples of these are to be seen in pl. viii, figs. 24 and 29. The place of gold coins was sometimes taken by mango-shaped pieces of gold, often set with gems. This type of necklet survives to-day in the *māngāmālai* (Tamil). An early representation of it can be seen in pl. vi, fig. 10, a sculpture from Nagarjunakonda.

Bracelets (Valayas).

According to Kautilya bracelets, armlets and waist bands are classified in the same manner as necklaces (Arthasastra p. 84). Thus *phalakavalaya* like *phalakahāra*, is a gem-set ornament with big slab-like gems set at intervals (pl. viii, fig. 15 second above the wrist and fig. 14 first near the wrist) *maṇibandhana*, the name given in Sakuntalam (Act. vi. p. 226) to the clasp of a finger ring could equally well be applied to the clasp of a bracelet. The name varies also according to the number of strings of which the necklace is composed. *Ratnavalayas* (Mudrarakshasa Act. iv, 5 p. 192; Jataka v. No. 529, p. 133; v, No. 523, p. 81) or bracelets set with precious stones and corals (Ramayana v, 15, 42) are more solid and are not pliable like the pearl strings as can be judged by their shape in the sculptures (pl. viii, figs. 16, 14 topmost and 15 lowermost, for *ratnavalaya* and fig. 14 lowermost, for pearl bracelets). According to the Gathasaptasati golden strings were worn by women in the place of auspicious strings known as *dora* and were thus *kanadora* or golden string or rope. It was generally twisted into an elegant rope shape like the modern *golusu* (Tamil) and is frequently represented (pl. viii, figs. 9, 11 and 12). The ornament referred in the line of the Jataka (vi, No. 543, p. 89) " with golden bracelets bound " must be of this kind.

The Gathasaptasati (i, 80) mentions a perforated bracelet, *jālavalaya*, and gives a beautiful description of a woman after her bath removing turmeric dust from the

perforations of her *jalavalayas* with a small pick. Since the Gathasaptasati was compiled by the very king under whose patronage the Amaravati sculptures were produced, this type of bangle may naturally be expected among their many representations of valayas. Pl. ix, fig. 6, represents a *jālavaya*.

Material other than gold and gems was also used for the manufacture of bracelets. Conch bangles, *śankhavalayas* (Petavatthu com. 157; Kadambari p. 78), also known as *śankhakas* (Sisupalavadha xiii, 41) were very popular and continue to be so in many parts of India, especially Bengal, Bihar, etc. Bangles were also made of ivory (Dhammapad-atthakatha i, p. 292) and of rhinoceros horn (Dasakumaracarita, p. 141), but these materials cannot of course be recognised in the sculptures. The term *chīrachūḍaka* was applied mainly to bracelets of rhinoceros horn but included ivory also. Both were considered specially auspicious (*loc. cit.* p. 141 see com.) Bracelets were worn by men and women alike, but in the case of the latter they symbolised their *saumangalya* (auspiciousness, *i.e.* having their husbands alive). The Gathasaptasati (vi, 39) thus calls bracelets *avidhavā-lakshaṇavalaya* (bracelets indicating wifehood.

ARMLETS (ANGADAS AND KEYURAS).

Like wristlets and necklaces, armlets were worn by both sexes. They were close-fitting ornaments of gold (Raghuvamsa xvi, 60). Some bore creeper and makara patterns, and were angular above, so that wearers had to take care that the upper garment was not caught in them (Ramayana vi, 18, 24, see pl. i. fig. a from Bharhut). Others were gem-set and were not pointed above (Kadambari p. 28. See pl. viii. figs. 8 and 23). These were known in Pali as *ovaṭṭikas* (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 69, Cullavagga v, 2, 1) and along with bracelets were known as *valayas* in Sanskrit on account of their ring-like shape (Raghuvamsa xvi, 73; Meghaduta i, 2). And a third type entwined the arms "like a couple of snakes fond of the smell of sandal applied to the body" (Kadambari p. 18. See pl. viii, figs. 7 and 11). This type covered the arms so fully that they remind us of the line in the Jataka (vi, No. 545, p. 141) "who wearest thy bracelets as an armour."

GIRDLES.[1]

Girdles were fashioned in the same way as necklaces and wristlets (Arthasastra p. 84). Girdles worn by women were variously known as *raśanā*, *sārasanā*, *mekhalā*, *kāñchi* and *saptaki*. Generally the girdle is composed of a number of strings of stones, pearls and other precious beads[2] which glitter like stars (Mrcchakatika, Act i, p. 19). In addition to its decorative value it helps to keep the garment in position. The *mekhala* or *manimekhala* is the girdle most often represented in sculpture. It is composed of a number of strands

[1] See also belts, p. 118 below, among clothing.

[2] There is a verse quoted from an unknown source in Amarakosa with Ramasrami's commentary explaining these terms as signifying the number of strands composing the girdle, ii, 6, 108, p. 240.

of gems worn on the waist (Sisupalavadha ix, 45). From its many stranded construction it is often called *mekhalākalāpa*. Some if not most of these gems were beads of no great value. But according to a poem contemporary with the sculptures dark beads are mentioned as composing the jewelled waist zone (Gathasaptasati vi, 74), and it is not unlikely that sapphires are meant.

The Jatakas mention them as "in order loose but thick, they strike each other with a sounding click" (v, No. 526, p. 105) or "jingling, whenever she moved, they ring again like little birds that chirp in time of rain" (*loc. cit*, v, No. 526, p. 104). Though the gems jingle when they come into contact with one another (Kadambari p, 29) their sound is quite different from that of the bells that adorn the *kancī* (Meghaduta i, 29; Ramayana v, 9, 51), another variety of girdle. A delightful sketch of this pattern of ornament from one of the Bharhut sculptures is given by Cunningham (Cunningham I, pl. li, fig. 2). Representations from Amaravati can be seen in pl. viii, figs. 26, 28 and 34.

The *raśanā* or, from its many stranded construction *raśanākalāpa*[1] (Raghuvamsa xvi, 56; Mrcchakatika Act i, p, 19) resembles the *mekhala* but is fashioned like a cord or chain, *hemasūtra* (gold cord) as it is called in the Ramayana (v, 9, 50) or *tapanīyamekhalā* (gold mekhala) in the Kumarasambhava (viii, 81). The figure of *raśanā* is so named from the chain type of *raśanā* on account of the numerous links composing it. Both forms of *raśanā* are carved in the Amaravati sculptures (pl. viii, fig. 27.)

Though the word *mekhalā*, in the general sense of a girdle or belt or sash (*mekhala-bandha*, Kadambari p. 81) may be used for the sash with a knot tied in ribbon fashion in pl. viii, figs. 27 and 30, the more appropriate term to denote this is *kāyabandhāna or kakshyābandana*, applicable to thick waist cords as well. This sash was also known as *vethaka* because it was wound round the waist. Rhys Davids (Digha Nikaya i, p. 130 iii, 2, 9) specially makes note of this term as connoting the elaborate girdles found in early sculptures and in a footnote refers to illustrations in Cunningham's "Stupa of Bharhut." *Kāyabandha* and *vethana* suggest the mode of wear. The material and shape account for the term *pattikā* occurring in the Cullavagga (Vinaya Texts iii, pp. 142-144 v, 29, 2) and used for these ribbon-shaped flat pieces of cloth, perhaps silken. They are seen tied like sashes round the waist of both male and female figures at Bharhut and Mathura but on the waist of women only at Amaravati (pl. ix fig. 5). A thick jewelled roll sometimes takes their place in the case of male figures in early sculpture (pl. viii, figs. 31 and 32). Bana describes (Harshacarita p. 112) this *kakshyābandha* with hanging tassels known technically as *phālipata* from the material composing it.[2]

[1] *Kalāpa* is the same as *kalābuka*, the word used in the Cullavagga (see Vinaya Texts iii, p. 143, Cullavagga, v, 29, 2) to connot the girdle composed of many strings plaited together.

[2] The knot in this with its dangling ends forms a charming decoration continued in modified form in late sculptures and bronzes even up to the Vijayanagara period. I learn from Mr. Agrawala that this knot is called *netrasutra*.

But the usual waist zone worn by men was that known as *Śrinkhalā* (Amarakosa ii) and was, as the name suggests, a chain. But in early sculptures including those from Amaravati it is a thick cord around the waist. In the Cullavagga (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 69, v, 2, I) it is called *kaṭisuttaka*. In the Ramayana even some of the wives of Ravana are described as wearing *raśanādāmas* or roll girdles (v, 9, 47); and the waist cord *sroṇīsūtra*) as worn by Ravana himself (*loc. cit*, 22, 26) is described as thick and dark. The *maddavīna* type of girdle (pl. viii, fig. 31 mentioned in the Cullavagga (Vinaya Texts iii, p; 143, v, 29, 2) was beautifully adorned with rich and jewelled borders. Other jewelled girdles were also distinguished by special names. Thus the *kalābuka* was composed of many strips plaited together, the *muraja* had knobs at the ends which were shaped like drums, while the *deḍḍubhaka* (Sanskrit *ḍuṇḍubha*) had knobs in the form of a water snake.

ANKLETS.

Anklets are variously known as *mañjīra*, *tulākoṭi*, *nūpura padāngada* and *hamsaka* or, in the Jatakas, *pālipada*. *Mañjīra* is the word for a churning stick with its strinng coiled round it. The *mañjīra* anklet is so called since it resembles the coiled strings on the churning stick entwining the leg above the ankle as we see in sculpture (pl. viii, figs. 17 and 19). The *mañjīra* makes a beautiful sound *manju īran mañjīrah*. The *nūpura*, whether gem-set (*maṇinūpura*) or plain, produces sweet sound (Mrcchakatika Act, i.34; Raghuvamsa xvi, 12; Kadambari p. 3) and can easily be slipped on or off (Mrcchakatika Act. i, p. 24). This latter feature is indicated in two Amaravati sculptures, in which a *prāsadikā* hands the *nūpuras* on a plate to a lady so that she may put them on her feet after the painting of the *alaktaka* is finished (pl. ix, fig. 18 and Fergusson, pl. lxiii, fig. 3). In the Ramayana (v. 15 46) the ornaments of Sita are described as *svanavanti mahānti ca* (jingling and large). Though large in size *mañjīras* were light and hollow with precious gems inside, to which their sound was due. Their gems sometimes helped to settle disputed ownership. Since they were so large and hollow Bimbisara's loving and ingenious queen was able to bring him liquid sustenance in them when their wicked son forbade any food being given his aged father whom he had imprisoned to secure the throne (Sumangala Vilasini i, p. 136). Such anklets are still in vogue in Marwar and are light for their size. The sculptures from Amaravati include the variety composed of many coils (pl. viii, fig. 19), the ordinary large ring shaped anklet (pl. viii, fig. 17) and the anklet with *kshudraghaṇṭikās* or *kinkiṇīs* (small bells) suspended from them (pl. viiii, fig. 18). The *tulākoṭi*[2] (Harshacarita p. 163; Srikanthacarita i, 19) presumably resembled the anklet still worn in the Andhra country in which the two ends each bear a slight cubical enlargement such as is often found at the ends of a balance beam.

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[1] The text gives the word *suvaṇṇa-paduka* which cannot mean anything sensible unless this is interpreted as a confused expression of the anklet, *palipada*.

[2] Literally " scale beam tip."

STOMACH-BAND (UDARABANDHA).

The earliest known representation of the *udarabandha*, a common ornament for male figures in most later sculptures, is on the Parkham yaksha (Coomaraswamy I, pl. iii, 9). In Amaravati sculpture it appears only in one of the later sculptures (about the third century A.D.) and in a more ornate form. It is there worn by a nagaraja who has an elaborately worked *yajñopavīta* also (pl. viii, fig. 25).

SACRED THREAD (YAJÑOPAVITA).

Some of the later sculptures from Amaravati include the earliest known representations of a true *yajñopavīta*, though much earlier sculptures such as the yakshas from Patna (Coomaraswamy I, pl. xviii, 67) and some of the figures from Bharhut wear the upper cloth in the *upavīta* fashion (see above, p. 40) from which the *yajñopavīta* seems to have been derived. This fashion of wearing the cloth is early connected with the *vastrayajño-pavīta* found in later sculptures of the Gupta period and so forth. Rshis wear the *ajina-yajñopavīta* or *yajñopavīta* composed of deer skin. This can be seen in a drawing of an Amaravati sculpture given by Fergusson in his book (Fergusson, pl. lxxxvi). The long *yajñopavīta* was composed of pearls and is the *muktāyajñopavīta* that Kalidasa describes (Kumarasambhava vi, 6) and worn by the nagaraja (pl. viii, fig. 25) already mentioned as wearing also an *udarabandha*. This beautiful form of *yajñopavīta* has decorated the images of gods from this period onwards to the present day and is carved and painted over and over again at Ajanta, where it is still long as at Amaravati. In Pallava sculpture it is long only when worn over the right arm instead of close to the right side of the body, and thereafter it is always shorter.

FINGER RING (ANGULIYAKA).

It is strange that the finger ring is not found adorning the finger of any figure in the numerous sculptures from Amaravati of the earlier periods, but only makes its appearance in sculptures of the third century A. D. (pl, viii, fig. 25). The *maṇibandhana* or the jewelled boss of the ring (Sakuntalam Act. vi, p. 226) is perceptible in the sculpture figured.

HEMAVAIKAKSHAKA.

An ornament restricted to woman in the Amaravati and other early sculptures but later adorning goddesses and also child deities such as Balakrishna and Balasubrahmanya (Skanda as a baby boy) is the *hemavaikakshaka* later called *channavīra*. Examples may be seen in pl. viii, fig. 23 and pl. iii, fig. 4 b. Its close relation in pattern to the ordinary *vaikak-shaka* and its military nature will be discussed later.

Jewels Boxes (Ābharaṇasamudgakas).

The sculptures show that these or other ornaments were worn by all men and woman apart from slaves, no doubt partly because, as Kshemendra observes, they were jewels in prosperity and supports in adversity (Bharatamanjari ii, 264). No wonder they were carefully preserved in special *ābharaṇa samudgakas* or jewel boxes from which *prasādikās* or attendant women took them out for use. One of the Jatakas (i, no, 92, p. 224) mentions such a box in the charge of an attendant girl; and sculptures from Amaravati illustrate how the attendants produce jewels from the boxes for the use of their mistresses pl. ix, fig. 16 and Fergusson I, pl. lxiii, fig. 3).

Clothing Materials

Dress of nobles and kings in the Amaravati sculpture is so simple that in the words of Dr. Gravely " they are coolly clad in little beyond ornament ". This sparse clothing is in accordance with the dictates of a tropical sun whose blazing rays make any fuller covering uncomfortable.

Thin cotton cloth and silks were the most favoured by the wearers.[1] India as the home of fine muslins has always displayed the most dexterously spun fabrics on her peoples, and it is not surprising that what Megasthenes considered wonderful as extremely fine transparent cloth is similarly described by Bana who compares it to the light skin of the snake which rustles in the wind as it continued long in fashion in much the same texture in the time of Bana and even later[2]. Such cloth shows the features of the human figure almost as if reflected in the mirror; and in sculpture its presence is usually suggested only by the fringe or the border which would perhaps be of somewhat tougher texture. Thus in Amaravati and elsewhere the draping of figures is generally suggested either by a fringe at the ankles or by nothing but the central loops, bands and tassels immediately below the waist zone. But this does not mean that the women of the Satavahana period went about naked or that the men preferred waist bands to clothing.

Clothes were so chosen that they suited the occasion and the weather. Blankets and shawls were for winter *haimanah prāvārah* (Siddhanta Kaumudi on Panini iv, 3, 43) and fine varieties of cloth for summer. There were many varieties of cloth indigenous and imported and a long list is given by Kautilya. Bana describes many varieties of silk such as *kshauma, bādara, dukūla, lālātantuja, amśuka* and *netra* all thin and transparent, soft as plantain core, disturbed by even the softest breath, to be inferred by the touch rather than seen and rich in colours like those of the rainbow (Harshacarita p. 143). Of these manifold patterns of silk the most famous were those that came from Benares and China which are mentioned in the Jatakas and other works.

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[1] For a detailed account of the material, manufacture, patterns and mode of wear of clothes in ancient India *see* Dr. Moti Chandra's paper pp. 28–56.

[2] Fine transparent cloth is suggested by the wavy lines indicating the apparel of figures in Pala sculpture

Both men and women wore two cloths each, one as lower garment—*antarīya* and the other as upper cloth—*uttariya*. These were spotlessly white silks with the border painted in *gorocanā* (Kadambari, p. 138) showing swan couples, *hamsamithuna* (*loc cit.*, p. 17). Sometimes the *nivasana* or cloth was *citra* or variegated and was known as *pushpapaṭṭa* having flowers worked on it all over (Harshacarita, p. 100). Patterns of birds along with flowers also dotted such cloth (*loc, cit.* p, 114).

Upper Cloth (Uttarīya).

The upper-cloth was variously termed *uttarīya*, *uttarāsanga*, *uttaraśātaka* and *uparivasana*. It was worn by men in the *uttarīya* fashion much in the same way as it is worn to-day, around the neck and flowing down from over both shoulders. When worn by women the upper cloth had a delicate red border and was called *stanottarīya* (*loc. cit*, p. 166 ; Raghuvamsa xvi, 17 ; Bhartrhari ii, 21). It was so called because it covered the breasts. An excellent example of *stanottarīya* from Amaravati is pl. ix, fig, 9. A silken *stanottarīya* was also called *dukulottarīya* (Dasakumaracarita, p. 138) or *paṭṭāmsukottaranga*, uttaranga being a synonym of *uttarīya* (Harshacarita, p. 133).

The upper cloth was sometimes ornamented with real precious stones that formed lovely borders (Raghuvamsa xvi, 43). The details of these borders are well shown in some of the larger Amarāvati sculptures (pl. xviii, fig. 3), but do not include any swan border. This may be explained by Kalidasa's dictum that this border is characteristic of clothes used in marriages—*vadhūdukūlam kalahamsalakshaṇam*. The Gathasaptasati (iii, 41 vi, 45 ; vii, 20) names blue and red saris as worn by women the latter being more popular and more often mentioned.

Lower Cloth (Antariya).

The lower cloth is always worn by both men and women in the *kaccha* fashion, *i.e.* with the end passed between the legs and tucked in behind. From the way in which it went round the thighs was called *samvelliya* and Buddhaghosha explains how this mode involved a *kaccha—samvelliyam nivāsemtīti mallakammakarādayo viya kaccham bandhitā nivasenti* (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 145, Cullavagga v, 29, 4). The *kaccha* of male figures is prominently shown in the form of a central band dividing in two at the border of the cloth near the ankle (pl. viii, fig. 25). The various modes of kaccha wear are named in accordance as the folds resemble the trunk of an elephanat fan, the tail of a fish and so on The *hatthisoṇdaka* mode is the regular *pañcakkaccha* fashion where the central *kaccha* proceeds straight and turns in a curve at the end (pl. viii. fig. 25 and pl. iv, fig. 25) ; the *tālavantaka* is that mode wherein the *kacchas* are shaped like fans (pl. viii, fig. 26 & 27, pl. iii, fig. 6 a); the *macchavālaka* is the mode where the *gucchas* divide so as to be shaped like the tail of a fish (pl. viii, fig. 32 & pl, iii, fig. 3 b); the *satavallika* mode shows a number of folds (pl. viii, fig. 23 & pl iii, fig. 3 a, 4 a) ; the *catukaṇṇaka* mode is not clear (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 145, v, 29, 4). The regular folds of the *kaccha* mode of wear are indicated in the earlier

sculptures by double lines (pl. viii, fig. 31, 32 and 34), a feature though it is of Gupta and post-Gupta sculptures in the north which is repeated in medieval sculptures in the south. In the case of women the *kaccha* is shown more prominently than anything else. Even the depiction of drapery is so subdued as to show the figure almost as if naked, and answer the description in the Jataka (v, No. 526, p. 104) " garments shimmer, clinging to the thigh," the *kaccha* comes to the rescue. It is so arranged as to proceed behind to reach the hips and the waist zone higher up ; the front of the *kaccha* is beautifully arranged in folds (pl. viii, figs. 23, 26 to 28) and also perhaps includes the *nīvībandha* or important knot that keeps together the cloth worn on the waist. Though the appearance of the cloth is so subdued as to reveal the form of the body, the border of the under garment is sometimes indicated by double lines as in earlier and later medieval art. The lower cloth generally reaches the ankles *gulphāvalambi* (Kadambari, p. 21) and is therefore known as *āprapadīna*[1] (Harsha-carita p. 31—see pl. viii, fig. 30), dress that comes up to the feet (Panini v, 2, 9 . But the shirt (*kañcuka*) of this length that Bana describes as worn by women is the Grecian variety of dress which is also sculptured in Amaravati (pl. viii, fig. 35).

DRAWERS (CAṆḌĀTAKA OR ARDHORUKA).

Drawers were used by both men (Harshacarita, p. 113) and women (*loc. cit.* p. 32; Padataditaka, 18). A figure of Sri wearing drawers and seated on a lotus on an early piece of coping from Amaravati reminds us of the lady wearing *caṇḍātaka* described by Bana in his Harshacarita (p. 112). The *caṇḍātaka* there described was dotted all over with flowers but in the Amaravati sculpture these are absent and double lines at regular intervals give an effect like that of the drapery from Ajanta. *Ardhoruka* (up to the middle of the thigh) is a synonym of *caṇḍātaka* indicating the length of this garment.[2] Koshas mention it as the dress of women of exalted rank (*varastrīs*). A *caṇḍātaka* from Amaravati sculpture may be seen in pl. viii, fig, 34.

BELT (KAKSHYĀ).

Above the *caṇḍātaka* Bana mentions a *kakshyā*, or a broad belt (*loc. cit.* p. 113). It was generally tied and hence called *kakshyābandha* (*loc. cit.* p. 112). Three rows of *kakshyas* are shown on the hips of warriors and royal attendants in the Amaravati sculptures pl. x, fig. 6). Golden *kakshyas* are mentioned in the Mahabharata (iv, 66, 4).

VAIKAKSHAKA.

Above the *kakshya* two bands crossed make up a *vaikakshaka*. Cloths (Harshacarita, p. 101), flower wreaths (Kadambari, p. 148) or pearl strings were crossed in this way, and

[1] *Āprapadina*, the cloth falling to the feet, and *ardhoruka*, draws reaching only the middle of the thighs form a natural contrast one to the other.

[2] *See* also above, p. 112, under girdles.

the *channavīra* of later sculpture is but an ornamental *vaikakshaka*. But in early sculpture *channavīra* (lit. protect warrior) retains its literal meaning, as it refers to the *vaikakshaka* of the warrior whose torso it protects (pl. viii, fig. 13 and 33).

TUNIC (KAÑCUKA).

This is worn only by attendants in the Amaravati sculptures. The grooms, attendants, guards, etc., in the king's court are shown in this apparel which is somewhat suggestive of Roman style (pl. ix, fig. 15). But the kanchuka-wearer *par excellence* is the *kañcuki* (above, p. 100). So meagrely does man dress in tropical India that the old warden of the harem, who practically alone habitually wore a long tunic, was appropriately styled the "shirt-wearer" (*kañcuki*). He had also a peculiar head-dress and a staff (pl. vii, fig. 14 & pl, ii, fig. i).

MONKS' ATTIRE.

The Buddhist monks so often seen in the sculptures wore chequered robes These were of *kashāya* or yellowish red resembling *palāśa* flowers according to the Gathasaptasati (iv, 8). The robes, being made of a number of rags (*kanthās*) all sewn together. resembled as Professor Rhys Davids (1, p. 46) remarks, quoting from a passage from the Vinaya Pitaka, a field cut up by rows of boundaries that served also as water channels. The double lines of the chequered patterns of the robes of the monks at Amaravati are suggestive of the water channel in the fields but they are nevertheless so rich and the squares in the robes are so symmetrically arranged that they do not appear like rags stitched together. They are rather reminiscent of the rich robes costing many gold pieces that were presented to the members of ths Buddhist Order as we hear now and again in the Jatakas. Pl. ix, fig. 14 shows one of the many representations of monks in such robes.

Ascetics or *tapasās* are represented in the Amaravati sculptures with their characteristic *jaṭā* (*jaṭābhistāpasah*). They wear bark dress—*valkala*—and the *kṛshṇājina uttarāsanga* or the upper cloth of deer skin covers their left shoulder in the *upavita* fashion. A good example can be seen in a sketch of a marble figured by Fergusson the original of which is unfortunately lost (Fergusson, pl. lxxxvi). In one of the marbles preserved in the British Museum (pl. 11 of Tripe's Photos of the Elliot Marbles—then in the Madras Museum) the dress of many *tapasas* old and young is given. Pl. ix, fig. 1, represents an old ascetic in his bark dress and deer skin with a staff in his hand, and answers closely the description in the Sarabhanga Jataka (v, No. 522, p. 70) of an ascetic with matted hair, antelope skin coverings, and mendicant's staff.

TOILET

Toilet was a very important item assiduously studied and attended to by every aesthete or man of taste (*nāgaraka*) and lady with charms (*vilāsini*), especially the latter. *Sairandhrīs* and *prasādhikās* were attendants common in harems for helping their mistresses at dress and

toilet. As pictured in the Jatakas (vi. 544, p. 118) the ladies sit in their golden chairs while the attendants adorn them (pl. xxvii, fig. 1; Fergusson 1, pl. lxiii, fig. 3). Kalidasa gives us a picture of a lady as her foot is held by the *prasādhikā* in the act of painting it with red lac, *alaktaka* (Raghuvamsa vii, 7); and a sculpture from Amaravati exactly answers to it (pl. ix, fig. 11 & 13). The fingers are described in the Jataka (v, No. 526, p, 105) as "blushing coral red" on account of the *alaktaka*.

Another *prasādhikā* arranges the hair of her mistress and combs it with a comb (Pali. *koccha*, Vinaya Texts iii, p. 70, Cullavagga v, 2, 3—Sanskrit *kankata*—pl. ix. fig. 10). The comb in the hand of this woman is the *phaṇaka* (*loc. cit.* v, 2, 3) so called because of its shape approximating to that of a snake's hood and explained by Buddhaghosha as made of ivory or other material. The comb plies best in a volume of hair (Sisupalavadha xv, 33) and great care was taken to grow and groom the hair well. The Jatakas mention perfumed coconut oil as applied to the hair before it was arranged. A *sthāsaka* or pot containing the oil is held up by one of the attendants who helps in her lady's hair-dressing (pl. ix, fig. 12). This is the *udakatelaka* for smoothing the hair. Pomade was also used and it was called *sitthatelaka* (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 70, Cullavagga v, 2, 3).

Not without reason Rati holds a mirror; there is great charm in a lady reviewing her features in a *mukura* or mirror. So fascinating a study is the lady, mirror in hand, that it has become a special motif; and in Mathura sculpture Bhutesar supplies an excellent example of a yakshi in that attitude. Amaravati has also lovely sculptures to illustrate this feminine self-appraisement, and pl. ix, fig. 17 shows a lady carefully arranging her curls and *sīmanta* (central line over forehead), mirror in hand (Jataka v, No. 526, p. 105). This almost corresponds to Kalidasa's description of Parvati with a mirror in her hand (Kumarasambhava vii, 26), that later developed into an iconographic form of the Goddess as described in the Vishnudharmottara, Rupamandana and other texts in the Umamahesvara and other groups. And Rati is similarly described (Gravely & Ramachandran, pp. 16, 73 & 137). From the Jatakas (v, No. 531, p. 158) we learn that the mirror had a handle and frame made of ivory. No wonder that such an exquisite instrument to test beauty is called by Kalidasa *vibhramadarpaṇa*, *i.e.*, mirror for reflecting feminine grace or toilet mirror (Raghuvamasa x, 10).

Like *vastra*—cloth, *angarāga*—cosmetic and *mālya*—garlands were very popular in ancient India. Flowers were strung together and garlands made with great care in many artistic ways and were worn in different places on the head and body. The mode in which the flowers were arranged determined the name of the wreath such as *ekatovantika mālā*, stalks all on one side, and *ubhatovantika mālā*, stalks crossing and facing one another (Vinaya Texts ii, p. 347, Cullavagga i, 13, 1). Some modes were named according to their shape such as *manjarikā*, a thick roll named after an anklet, *vidhutikā*, named after a fan (pl. ix, fig. 2, where the whole arrangement has to be understood as making the fan), and *āvela*,

named after an earring (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 348, i, 13, 1). The place occupied by the garland and the mode in which it was worn might also determine its name. Thus the wreath coming topmost on the hair was the *vatamsaka* (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 347, i, 13, 1) or *avatamsaka* (pl. viii, fig, 23 & pl. vi, fig. 9). Pl. viii, fig. 21 represents a *garbhaka* worn in the middle of the hair. *Lalāmaka* is an arrangement of flowers near the forehead as in pl. i, fig. 1 c but it is impossible to distinguish whether these are really flowers or are precious stones in which case it would be *lalaṭika* (see above p. 133). A figure from Nagarjunakonda (pl, vi, fig. 10) shows clearly the *lalāmaka* above the forehead and beneath that the *makarī*. *Prabhrashṭaka*, a garland hanging down over the plaited hair, *veṇī* resembles the similarly arranged ornament (Vinaya Texts ii, p, 347, Cullavagga i, 13, 1) in pl. ix, fig. 4; and an actual representation of *prabhrashṭaka* is to be seen in the figure from Nagarjunakoṇḍa just mentioned near the left ear. *Vaikakshaka* is but a flower garland replacing cloth or jewelled strap in the *vaikakshaka* mode of wear described on p. 11 above (Mudrarakshasa. Act ii, p. 130) as in pl, iii, fig. 4 b. *Uracchada* was the garland loosely hanging from the neck on to the chest. When the garland had been arranged on the hair by the husband (see Nanda helping Sundari at her toilet in pl, lxiii, fig. 2a) the wife fondly kept it on even when it became an *avamālikā*, *i.e.*, a faded garland (Gathasaptasati ii, 94).

ARMS AND OTHER MILITARY ACCESSORIES,

Though righteous and fraudulent wars were both quite well known at all times, *dharmayuddah* or righteous war was more usual than fraudulent war *kūṭayuddha* (Raghuvamsa xvii, 69). A sculpture from Amaravati badly worn and mutilated still shows vividly a battle scene in ancient India. A man in a chariot fights a man in another chariot, a horseman attacks a horseman, the soldier on an elephant engages one on another elephant, while a footsoldier likewise matches himself against an opponent of his status, reminding us of the description of battle in the Raghuvamsa (vii, 37).

CHARIOT (RATHA).

The chariot is the first among the four elements composing the army. Its principal parts are enumerated in the Milindapanha as the wheels and their spokes, the framework, the axle, the ropes, the pole and the yoke (Milindapanha i, p. 43, Text p. 27). The war chariot, *sāmgrāmika ratha* (Mahaviracarita, Act vi, p. 210; Venisamhara, Act v, p. 157), is distinguished from other chariots such as the *pushyaratha* or chariot for festive purposes and the rest (Arthasastra, p. 170). The war chariot in ancient India resembles still earlier ones of western Asia. It had two wheels and on the axle was the basket or body, consisting of the floor and the guard. The guard formed a shield on three sides of the chariot leaving one side open for the rider and the charioteer and was covered with cloth or leather " with trappings spread and all adorned with manifold array" (Jataka v, No. 523, p, 82) and " with tiger skin and

panther hide, a gorgeous sight to see" (*loc. cit.* v, No. 529, p. 132). A chariot covered with rich multicoloured cloth was *pāṇḍakambali* and when covered with tiger's skin was *vaiyāghra* (Kasika on iv, 2, 10—12). Judging from sculptures, it must ordinarily have lacked a covering on the top. Four horses were yoked to it (Ramayana vi, 110, 9), two on each side of the pole, and the charioteer managed the vehicle while the archer fought from it. The chariot was fully equipped with arms and from this store the warrior in the vehicle freely replenished his exhausted quiver or replaced his mutilated weapons. The banner which is so often mentioned in literature as the distinguishing feature of each chariot is located in the Gathasaptasati and other works (Gathasaptasati i, 34; Venisamhara, Act iv, p. 96) on its top but is not clearly shown in any known Indian sculpture. Its place, however, can be located with the help of an ancient Chinese sculpture of the second century A.D. (see the extreme left top of pl. ii, fig. 1 of the article on Chinese Sculpture in the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. v, 14th edn.). The chariot was decorated with fly whisks and bells that tinkled as it moved (Venisamhara, Act. ii, 29, p. 61). Among the war chariots were some that earned fame by victories gained and came to be known as *jaitrarathas*. These were used with the full belief that fight from them would assure success (*loc. cit.* Act ii 29, p. 60). Like modern ships each chariot had its own name so that the particular one required on any occasion could readily be specified (*loc. cit.* Act iii, p. 81). Pl. x, fig. 13 is a representation of a typical war chariot. Measurements of these chariots are given in the Arthasastra p. 139) which also enumerates their different varieties and the qualifications required of chariot warriors. The Ramayana (vi, 106, 18—20), in enumerating the qualifications of a chariot warrior, calls him *rathakuṭumbi* (one whose home is the chariot), thus stressing the intense devotion for the vehicle expected of him. Pl. l; lvi, fig. 1 shows the warrior in the chariot fighting his opponent bow in hand. He stands in the *ālīḍha* pose, one of the five warrior poses. Siva as the slayer of the Tripuras is the classical instance of a warrior in ālīḍha pose on the chariot with full drawn bow and the sculpture reminds us at once of this majestic figure and pose immortalised by Kalidasa (Raghuvamsa iii, 52).

Elephants.

The second element in the army is formed of elephants. Wild elephants were carefully protected in forests, caught, tamed and well-trained for war. The Arthasastra (pp. 164—169) gives a graphic account of elephants that may be captured and used, methods of taking care of the animals, training them, etc. Among trained elephants those for military purposes were known as *sannāhya* and, unlike *aupavāhya* or riding elephants, were taught to fight. They knew seven kinds of attack; *upasthāna* and *samvartana* (varieties of drill), *samyāna* (march forwards and serpentine movements), *vadhāvadha* (trampling down and killing horses, chariots and infantry), *hastiyuddha* (fight with enemy elephants and *nagarayānam* (attack of forts and cities). In a sculpture from Amaravati (pl. lvi, fig. 1) an elephant is

shown exhibiting his skill in *samyāna* and *vadhāvadha*. It is advancing forward in *samyāna* fashion and with his trunk encircling a horse, is killing one of the cavalry while trampling to death soldiers of the infantry.

The *vaijayanti* and *kshurapramālā* are the *graiveyakas* or necklaces of the elephant, arranging them being called *graivayakakarma*, while arranging the girths (*kakshyās*) around the body was known as *kakshyākarma* (Arthasastra, p. 167). The girths can be seen on the elephants in pl. xliii, fig. 1 d with bells suspended from them which lazily resound as the animals move along (Madurakshasa, Act iv, 7 p. 194; Bharatamanjari ii, 332). The Gathasaptasati (vi, 26) mentions *ḍhakkās* or large drums borne by elephants. These are evidently for creating a great noise on the battle-field, but unfortunately the Amaravati sculpture depicting battle is so mutilated that this contemporary record cannot be interpreted with its help.

Elephants were sometimes urged on by the use of *yashṭis* or sticks (*yashṭyupavāhya*) sometimes by *totra* or goad (*totropavāhya*) and sometimes in the case of a very intelligent, animal by mere pats and strokes (*śuddhopavāhya*) avoiding the use of goads (Arthasastra, p. 168). The goad (*totra* or *ankuśa*) was invariably jewelled (Jataka vi, No. 547, p. 253) and ordinarily was sparingly used; but when the elephant had to be roused into terrific action it was incessantly used along with pots of liquor, draughts of which, combined with the maddening pain of the goad, made the animal create deadly havoc (*loc. cit.* v, No. 533, p. 176). The goad is invariably held by the mahout or elephant driver in all sculptures from Amaravati where the subject occurs, and an example may be seen in pl. x, fig. 5. Being killed by an elephant, gored by its tusks, was believed to assure the same celestial bliss as would be obtained by the performance of sacrifices (Arthasastra, p. 283), a belief which encouraged attacks on the animal whose very size was otherwise enough to terrify the opponent (Mrcchakatika Act. ii, p. 65.)

Cavalry.

Cavalry is the next factor in the army and the horses composing it were chosen from the best breeds of the Kambhoja, Sindhu, Aratta and Vanayu countries (Arthasastra, p. 161). The furious ones (*tīkshṇa*) were trained for war and milder ones (*bhadra*) used for riding *loc. cit* p. 162). The training was very elaborate as can be gathered from the various movements enumerated in the Arthasastra (*loc. cit.* pp. 162-163). Some of these movements may be recognised in the battle scene from Amaravati (pl. lvi, fig. 1.) The *urasya* mode may be seen in the horse moving with its breast almost touching the ground; the *vārikānta* (dashing like a water duck) in the animal whose hind portion is more on the ground than the forepart; and the horse spiritedly standing on the hind legs must be in either the *bakasancāri* (leaping like a crane) or *ekapluta* (sudden jump) attitude. The sword was as freely used by the cavalier as the bow by the charioteer.

Infantry.

Foot soldiers formed the fourth section of the army and were equally facile in the use of every weapon of war. When they fought at close quarters, which was very often, the attack was fierce and fateful.

Weapons.

The weapons used in warfare were varied but the most important were the five main types often mentioned in the Jatakas. Every trained fighter possessed these five weapons and a prince was even called Panchavudha kumara, prince Five Weapons (Jataka i, No. 55, p. 137) The five weapons are explained by Buddhaghosha as the sword, shield, bow, axe and spear. But in the Milindapanha (ii, p. 227, Text p. 339) the five weapons are arrows, javelins, spears, swords and sabres, the arrows to be used when the opponents were far apart, and each of the others in turn as they approach each other. The place of the mace is not clear in these lists. Perhaps it was included as a form of axe, for in early Cola sculptures of dvarapalakas the axe is a massive instrument like a club provided with an axe head. But the Milindapanha contains another list in which maces and clubs are added making a total of seven (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 250 Text p. 351).

Swords (*asi*)[1] *daggers*, etc.—Daggers, scimitars, broadswords and rapiers all belong to the sword family. The standard size of the sword was thirty inches, hence its name *nistrimśa*. But swords were of many kinds, and the Arthasastra (p. 122)[2] gives *nistrimśa* as one of the three main types, the other two being *maṇḍalāgra*, with curved tip, and *asiyaṣhṭi*, a long sword with straight tip. The swords figured in Amaravati sculpture are many and varied. The sword in the upraised hand of a soldier (pl. x, fig. 6) seems to be of the *Maṇḍalāgra* type. The *asiyashṭi* can be recognised in pl. x, fig. 8. According to whether the sword had a single or double edge it was called *ekato dhāra* or *ubhato dhāra asi* (Nidanakatha text *in* Jataka Text, i, p. 73). Rajendralal Mitra has quoted a long passage from the Brhatsamhita of Varahamihira giving various beliefs pertaining to the sword in India in the early centuries of the Christian era. According to this book " the most esteemed swords are those that are fashioned like a cow's tongue, a lotus petal, a bamboo leaf, and rapiers and scimitars." Among the long and short swords in the Amaravati carvings some (pl. x, fig. 2) are lotus petal shaped and some resemble the bamboo leaf (pl. x, fig. 1). The tips of the swords are

[1] There are many synonyms of *asi*, the most important being *khadga* which is combined with *charma* (leather) to make the word *khadga carmaṇi*, sword and shield. *Asi* which is Pali as well as Sanskrit, is similarly combined with the Pali *camma* to form the compound *asicamma*.

[2] Arthasastra p. 122. The commentary which describes *nistrimsa* as having a crooked handle, *mandalāgra* as with a circular plate on the hilt and *asiyashṭi* as a long sharp sword does not appear to be correct. *Nistrimsa* is explained as denoting its length (see Panini iv, 2, 96 and Kasika) the word *maṇḍalāgra* describes the tip and not the root and cannot therefore mean the hilt at the root of the sword blade, and curved-tipped swords are common ; *asiyashṭi* is hat which resembles a *yashti* or stick and undoubtedly refers to the straight-tipped sword.

thus of three kinds—flat, rounded and curviconical. Shorter swords are called *asiputrikā*, diminutive ones being compared to a small girl in her proportions to an adult. Small daggers are also represented in the sculptures (pl. x, fig. 9). These are called *churikas* (Milindapanha ii, p. 227, Text p. 339; Dasakumaraca ritra. p. 102). The handles of the swords were often made of rhinoceros or buffalo horn or of ivory while cheaper ones were of wood or bamboo root (Arthasastra, p. 122). But jewelled hilts of precious metal were popular and are often mentioned (Jataka v, No. 522, p. 73; vi, No. 543, p. 113). A hilt affording firm grasp was the best (Venisamhara, Act. iii, pp. 70–71). The swords were usually fastened on the left and carried in their sheaths or *kōshas* (Kadambari, p. 106; Mahaviracarita, Act vi, 53, p. 215), and pulled out (*nihkośo'sih*) just when required since unsheathing without reason was forbidden (Mitra I, see quotation from Brhatsamhita, p. 122). The sheath was ordinarily of leather beautifully worked (Ramayana vi, 54, 30-31) but sometimes costly metal ones were used for diminutive swords and daggers. These known as *kanakadaṇḍikas* were fastened to the body of the warrior by a golden chain (Mudrarakshasa, Act ii, p. 130) which replaced the usual strip of leather. There are sheaths and straps in the Amaravati sculptures but they appear all to be of leather. (pl. x, fig. 7, 8, 10). A sword composed of many pieces which the archer puts together before wearing it on his side is mentioned in the Asadisa Jataka. This is, as Dr. Gravely says, presumably a story based on the old Indian method of making swords of hard steel by welding together under a hammer a number of heated strips of iron laid side by side.

Shield.—The sword and the shield are always mentioned together—*khaḍgacarmaṇī*[1] (Mahabharata ix, 26, 29) and *asicamma*[2] (Vinaya texts iii, p. 243, Cullavagga vii, 3, 7). The opponent's sword stroke had to be received on the shield if it was to be returned. A characteristic pose of a warrior in action with raised sword can be seen in pl. x, fig. 6. Here the shield is rather small and is three-pronged, perhaps for light warfare. It must have required great dexterity on the part of the warrior to protect himself with such a small shield. Usually the shields were large ones—large enough for the miser in the Jataka story (v, No. 535, p. 208) to exaggerate the size of certain leaves, held out for receiving food, by comparing their size to that of a shield. No specimen of this kind of shield is illustrated in any of the sculptures in the Madras or British Museums. But among the Amaravati sculptures now lost but preserved in drawings by Col. Mackenzie, this type can be seen (Fergusson I, pl. lxix). Being common in all early sculptures it occurs at Goli, Nagarjunakonda and other places. A sketch from one of the sculptures at Nagarjunakonda is an example (pl. vi, fig. 12). Another type occurs at Amaravati the size of which is midway between the two described above. It is shaped like an elongate four-armed star (pl. x, fig. 1).

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[1] & [2] *See* above, p. 124, footnote I.

Spear (*prāsa*).—The shield last mentioned is accompanied by a spear. The spear is the *prāsa* and has a long *yashti* or handle (Harshacarita, p. 165). Double spears are shown in Amaravati sculptures (pl. x, fig. 1 and pl. xxviii, fig. 1 a).

Tridents (*triśūlas*).—Two types of *triśūlas* or tridents are shown in Amaravati sculpture, a light one with a long narrow handle, and a stout one with a short heavy handle. The *śūla* is a terrible weapon furiously twirled before the final thrust (Ramayana v, 24, 39; Buddhacarita xiii, 26) and a forceful representation of the heavy type of *śūla* in action is preserved in an Amaravati carving (pl. x, fig. 14). Pl. x, fig. 16 represents the lighter type.

Club (*gadā*).—The *gadā* is the heavy club used in warfare by the sturdiest warriors for smashing the enemies with single strokes. The most famous warriors of Indian mythology with whom the club is specially associated are Balarama, Bhima and Duryodhana. The supreme *gadā* is the Kaumodaki of Vishnu who is thus Gadadhara. Many shapes of club are known from sculptures and the weapon has different ornamentations to suit its size and pattern. There is the short and stumpy one used by dwarfs (pl. x, fig. 18) and the longer and more graceful one (pl. x, fig. 15). Below the handle or grip the club was often immensely heavy. To this class belonged the *parigha*, *mudgara* and *musala* varieties. A lighter and more ordinary weapon used by cmmon folk for threatening robbers was the *lakuṭa* (Milindapanha ii, p. 78, Text p. 255) same as Sanskrit *laguḍa* (pl. xlvi, fig. 1 a). The hammer shown in pl. x, fig. 12 is the *mudgara* which is a weapon more deadly than the club when the blow was accurately aimed.

Axe (*kuṭhāra*).—The axe is classed under the razor-like (*kshurakalpa*) weapons by Kautilya (Arthasastra, p. 122) and rightly since but for its sharp edge it would be just a steel edition of the hammer. The violent swing in the use of axe is well illustrated in one of the sculptures from an upright (pl. x, fig. 3).

Bow (*dhanus*).—But of all weapons it was the bow which was most favoured. The materials used for its manufacture as enumerated in the Arthasastra (p. 121) were wood and horn, palmyra (*tāla*) and bamboo (*cāpa*) being the special woods most suited for the purpose. The material used gave special names to the bow, the *kārmuka*, *kodaṇḍa*, *druma* and *dhanus* being made of palmyra, bamboo, (ordinary) wood and horn respectively. *Cāpa* and *kodaṇḍa* are distinguished in the Majjhima Nikaya (Warren, p. 120).

The bow string according to the Majjhima Nikaya (*loc. cit.* p. 120) may be of swallow wort or bamboo or sinew or milk-weed (*muruva*) and the Arthasastra (p. 121) enumerates six materials which include hemp, thin strips of bamboo, and sinew. It was usually coloured red like coral. The most honoured bows, of which Vishnu's *śārangadhanus* was presumably the original, were made of horn. Such bows are often mentioned in the Jatakas (v, No. 522, p. 67) and the Dhammapad-atthakatha (1, p. 286). Udayana's bow for instance was of horn. The Dhammapad-atthakatha and Jatakas say that the horn composing the bow was that of

the ram. The sculptures can as a rule give us no definite clue to the material of the bow. But the horn bow used by Udayana (pl. xxxiv, fig. 1 b) has the shape of those stated by Mrs. Quiggin in the Encyclopædia Britannica to be composed of a pair of horns fastened together at the grip, as illustrated by her on p. 984 as fig. 2. So other bows of this shape presumably also represent horn bows. The *kodaṇḍa* or *cāpa* made of bamboo, has been sanctified by its use at the hands of Rama and this and the *kārmuka* are the types of bow most commonly met with. Bows were gaily painted and often decorated with peacock plumes (Kadambari, p. 61). Bending the bow and grasp were usually facilitated by slightly shaving the surface of weapon as is often mentioned in the Gathasaptasati (ii, 22. 19, 20).

Ordinarily the bow was a long shaft with the string entwining it (pl. x, fig. 4), but when in action it was *pūrita* (filled) as it was technically called (Ramayana I, 67, 17). and when the string was pulled to the ear the arrow was let off (pl. x, fig. 11). A vivid picture of an archer using the bow is given in Milindapanha (ii, p. 369, Test p. 418), under the " the simile of the archer "—how he carries the quiver, holds the bow and so forth. Elsewhere in the book (ii, p. 253, Test p, 352) the various stages and methods of learning archery are given. In the Asadisa Jataka various feats of archery are enumerated reminding us of the archery feat of Arjuna in the Mahabharata. An early sculpture from Amaravati (pl. xiv, fig. 2) shows spirited archers at work and the rows of arrows forming a sort of wall—one of the feats in the Jatakas, v, No. 522, p. 68)—almost answer the description given in the Parinibbana sutta (vi, 50, p. 131) of the fortification of Kusinara with arrow walls or more strictly walls of bows and spears by Mallas.

Arrows (*ishu*)—The Arthasastra (p. 121) names different varieties of arrow according to whether the head was of iron, bone or wood intended respectively to cut, rend or strike. The arrow heads were shaped in a number of ways, some like the heads of animals (Ramayana vi, 100, 41—44), some like a crescent ; and they were accordingly distinguished by special names such as *ardhacandra*, *karṇī*, *bhalla* and *kshura* (*loc. cit.* v, 44, 7 ; vi, 59, 101), *vekanda*, *karavirapatta*, etc. (Majjhima Nikaya in Warren, pp. 120-121). When of metal, which was usually the case, the arrow heads were oiled (Mahabharata ix, 28-29.) They were fastened to the shaft of the arrow with the sinews of animals. The shaft, *kaccha* or *ropima* according to the material used, was feathered from the wings of vultures, herons, falcons, peacocks and *sithilahanus* (Majjhima Nikaya in Warren, pp. 120-121) and the name of the bowman was imprinted on the shaft. Arrows were also tipped with adamant and sometimes poisoned (Jataka vi, No. 540, p. 44). They were carried head downwards in quivers (Mudrarakshasa Act vii, p. 310). Arrows were heated and straightened by the *usukāra*, the arrow-maker who closed an eye and looked with the other to see if they were straight. But the archer carried with him on the battle-field an *ālaka* (arrow straightener) for straightening them when they got bent (Milindapanha ii, p. 370, Text p. 418).

Other Military Equipment.

Military equipment included also the trapping for elephants and horses and the dress worn by soldiers, and there are fine bridles and jewelled straps (pl. x, fig. 17) pictured in the sculptures. The horses, whether mounts or yoked to chariots, were well groomed. The meaning of the term *kutta valehi* used in this connexion in the Digha Nikaya (i, p. 130, iii. 2, 9) is somewhat obscure. Rhys Davids explains it as meaning plaited manes and tails, and illustrates this by referring to pl. xii of Cunningham's Bharhut stupa. But if the pali *kutta* is translated like the Sanskrit *klpta* as "arranged", *i.e.*, in this connexion "groomed", the illustrations given in all early sculptural representations including those from Bharhut will be better satisfied. The trappings of horses of which rich varieties of gold are mentioned by Asvaghosha are called *bhāṇḍa* (Buddhacarita iii, 8 : v, 3). Elephants had fine *karṇacūlis* (long jewelled rolls) suspended from their ears (pl. xvi, fig. 5) and their girths were of costly material. The military dress shown in the Amaravati sculptures consists of a triple belt with cross straps above (pl, viii, fig. 13, 33). Cross straps have always been associated with military men and were used in Europe as recently as in the nineteenth century as, for instance by Napoleon's soldiers. The ornament known as *channavīra* (above, pp. 115 & 119) which is common in later iconography has as its name indicates a military origin—*channah vīrah yena*—that by which the hero is covered. It was thus originally a kind of protection. *Śirastras* or helmets, though mentioned in literature, are not actually to be seen in the sculptures unless pl. x. fig. 6 is to be taken as one; but turbans (*ushnīshas*) are common. The usual ornaments worn by other folk adorned soldiers also (pl. viii, fig. 13)

ARCHITECTURE.

Within their fortified ramparts ancient Indian cities or *nagaras* were crowded with people and full of life that was very different from the calm in the *janapada* or open country beyond. The king, nobles, merchants and other wealthy people resided in the cities and craftsmen who sought their patronage naturally flocked to them and there wrought their most magnificent masterpieces to please their patrons. That is the reason why even in describing a jewel a poet remarks that "the necklet is town-wrought". The most magnificent building in the city, and indeed, in the kingdom, was usually the royal palace, though there are instances of certain rich treasurers building mansions that far excelled in grandeur even the dwelling of the king (Dhammapad-atthakatha iii, pp. 322—324). Such buildings in towns set the example for the more pretentious of the humbler dwellings that were scattered everywhere. The most ancient sculptures of India illustrate splendidly these buildings as described in literature. Dr. Coomaraswamy has given in "Eastern Art" (6 & 7) an excellent description of early Indian structures with numerous suitable examples which may be studied for a fuller account. It is here sought briefly to explain the buildings illustrated in the carvings from Amaravati.

RAMPARTS AND GATEWAYS.

Before buildings in a city are considered the enclosure and approaches have to be studied. Every city in ancient India was a self-sufficient unit. It was protected by a huge wall known as *prākāra* and all around it ran a deep moat, *parikhā*. This feature, which is found even in forts of post-medieval date, is portrayed in all early sculpture, and the *parikhā* with lilies and lotuses to suggest water, though absent from Amaravati sculpture, can be understood from representations in Sanchi. The *prākāra* being nowhere fully shown in the Amaravati sculptures, the absence of the *parikhā* is easily understood. The gateways break the continuous line of the *prākāra*. Big cities had a number of gateways, sometimes hundreds. There is an elaborate description of the gateway in the Arthasastra which is echoed in the early Pali Texts and the Ramayana. The *toraṇa* is the ornamental gateway generally without a door outside the city gateway, which was known as the *gopura*. In one or two sculptures from Amaravati this order is clearly shown and confirms Amarasimha's explanation of the words *toraṇa* and *gopura* as *bahirdvāra* (outer entrance) and *puradvāra* (city gateway) respectively.

TORAṆAS.

Toraṇas included some of the most magnificent creations of Indian genius. The simplest type consisted of a pair of *stambhas* (columns) to which a garland of flowers and other festoons were tied (Raghuvamsa i, 41). From this developed the more elaborate *toraṇas* of which the most splendid examples adorn the great stupa at Sanchi. In this type the two columns were united above by triple arches with caryatids or plain supports at intervals between them, so that the whole upper part came to be compared to a net giving these gateways the name *jālatoraṇa* (Ramayana v, 2, 56). The arches ended on either side in great coils or circular ends projecting beyond the columns and had festoons and garlands hanging in two loops on either side of a central pendant wreath (pl. xi, fig. 2). Varieties of this kind of gateway, also found in households (Gathasaptasati iii, 62)[1] are given in pl. xi, figs. 1 to 3 and 5. The *toraṇa, par excellence,* was outside the city gatehouse but sometimes the *toraṇa* formed an integral part of the gatehouse itself, the usual superstructure of which with its lattice windows rose above the *toraṇa* arches. An example of this is to be found in pl. xi, fig. 3. Sometimes a pair of *toraṇas* is shown, one on either side of a mansion (pl. xi, fig. 15). Perhaps they served the purpose of modern entrance and exit gates. The city *toraṇa* was generally without doors, being more an ornamental entrance than a barrier against entry of the unwanted. But in house *toraṇas* (*gṛhadvāra toraṇas*) doors were provided and two doors are invariably shown in them in the sculptures (pl. xi, fig. 4). The doors, *kavāṭas*, are always described in literature as wide and hence are used for comparison where breadth is to be emphasized (Raghuvamsa iii, 34). Their tops were never arched though if they

[1] Here the *mālikā* (garland) suggests the central pendant *mālikā* for the gateway.

were to be tight-fitting the arches above demanded that shape; the difficulty was got over by a straight lintel (*nāsā*) introduced above the jambs immediately beneath the arch. An example of a small entrance of this type can be seen in pl. xi, fig. 4.

Gatehouse (Gopura) with Towers (Attāla), Hall (Śala) and Granaries (Koṭṭhagāra)

The gatehouse or *gopura* had certain adjuncts always mentioned with it. The three most important of these are the tower (*aṭṭa, aṭṭāla or aṭṭālaka*), the rampart wall (*prākāra*) and the arched gateway (*toraṇa*). They are all usually mentioned together (Ramayana v, 3, 33).[1] In sculpture from Amnravati the gate-house (pl. xi, fig. 7) is often represented. This structure is of brick and consists of two projecting towers connected above the entrance by a hall *śālā*. The approach to the entrance is known as the *sankrama*. The towers are known as *dvāra aṭṭālas* or *gopura aṭṭālakas*, to be distinguished from other *aṭṭālas* in mansions within the city. The towers were provided with steps by which one could go up and visit the *sālā* or look out through the windows which were generally composed of wooden lattice shutters. The *aṭṭālas* were flanked by *sīmāgṛhas*, also known as *koṭṭhāgāras* or *koshṭhagṛhas*, which served as toll-houses and granaries. In pl. xi, fig. 7, can be seen the thatched roof of these *koshṭhagṛhas* which is interesting as the parent of later roofs like that of the Draupadiratha at Mahabalipuram. The barrel roof of the *śālā* is the precursor of roofs like those of the Ganesa and Bhima rathas at Mahabalipuram and of many more modern temples.

Buildings within the city might also have their own rampart walls, and even the house of a courtesan like Vasantasena had seven *kakshyas* or courtyards, while, in the Ramayana Rama's palace had seven inner *prākāras*, the main entrance being as magnificent as the city gateway, for it was here that honoured guests were received. Such an entrance, which was called *bahidvāra koṭṭhaka* and *bahidvāra śālā* (Mrchackatika Act iii, p. 78) is represented in Amaravati sculpture (pl. xi, figs. 7 and 3). Almost modern-looking boundary wall line broken by toranas of individual houses is shown at Amaravati (pl. xi, fig. 9, 17).

Buildings.

The buildings carved in these sculptures are both religious and secular. Of the latter there are different varieties; some owned by the rich and others by the poor. Temples and kings' palaces were called *prāsāda*, buildings wherein the mind enjoys calm, the classica historical example being the *Sugānga prāsāda* of Maurya Candragupta immortalised by Visakhadatta (Mudrakshasa Act ii, p. 117, Act iii, p. 149). A very early reference to a *prāsāda* as the temple of a deity is in Patanjali's Mahabhashya (ii, 2, 34) where he mentions *prāsādas* of Dhanapati, Rama and Kesava. The palace of the king was not a single building, but was composed of a number of *niveśanas* or mansions that contained different *śālās*,

[1] See the ground plan given in pl. cxxii of Coomaraswamy 6, p. 208.

There were *śālās* for different purposes like the hall of weapons where conches, bows and other weapons were kept (Ramayana v, 7, 2), *āpānaśala* or the drinking hall wherein were kept ready different dishes and viands with flagons and goblets of various wines (*loc. cit.* v, 11, 12), *citraśālās* or picture galleries (*loc. cit.* v, 6, 36; Uttararamacarita Act i) [1]*krīḍāgṛhas* or play-houses (*loc. cit.* p. 6, 37), *saṅgītaśālās* or halls of music (Raghuvamsa xix, 5; Malavikagnimitra Act i, p. 6) *nartanaśālās* or dance halls (Mahabharata iv, 22, 3); and so forth. *Śālās* for living were *niveśanaśālās*, while *kūṭāgāras* were private apartments (Ramayana v, 9, 14). *Śayanagṛhas* (sleeping apartments) were included among the latter. In addition to these there was the *śuddhānta* or *antahpura*, comprising the apartments for women. There are interesting representations of *antahpura* in the Amaravati sculptures (pl. xli, fig. 1 d; Fergusson 1, pl. lix, fig. 2 & lx, fig. 2). They were entirely peopled by women and the only men who ordinarily trod that floor were the king and the old *kancuki* or chamberlain. The *antahpuras* had their own lotus ponds, entrances, exits, courtyards, halls, etc., and were veritable storied mansions.

Palaces.—Palaces shown on the slabs from Amaravati are storied buildings. The storeys are known as *bhūmas*. The ground floor had a number of pillars, *sthūṇas* or *stambhas* (Sanskrit) or *thambha* (Pali), whose number varied with the magnificence of the structure and the number of storeys to be supported. The *stambha* generally consisted of a polygonal shaft with base and capital. The base and capital each consisted as a rule of two parts, one bulbous with circular section, the other stepped with square section, the former above the latter in the base and below it in the capital. In the base the bulbous part was modelled on a pot and was usually much lower than broad. In the capital it was modelled on an inverted lotus, and was not lower than broad. The stepped upper part of the capital was sometimes surmounted by pairs of animals. There is a broken piece which shows the tops of two such pillars (pl. xi, fig. 13), but the finest specimen is that shown in pl. xvi, fig. 5. This monolithic pillar is, however, only a small one. Large pillars seem to have had each part in separate pieces. The Madras Museum has several such sections of bases, among which the pot-like portion is separate even from the stepped part. Octagonal pillars appear both from actual examples and from literary references to *atthamsa sukhata thamba* (Jataka vi, Text p. 173, also Transl. No. 543, p. 90) to have been the most popular.

Floors.—Pillars supported the *pāsādatala*, the floor immediately above the ground floor. This is also called *āditala* or first floor to distinguish it from *ardhatala*, second floor, *tritala*, third floor and so on (Arthasastra p. 56). The *pāsādatala* corresponds to the *harmyatala* so often mentioned in literature (Dasakumaracarita p. 142). Each floor was supported on *tulās* or straight beams, the projecting ends of which can be seen in the sculptures (pl. xxiv, fig. 1). The floors are often described as decorated with mosaic work, *maṇimayabhūh*, (Meghaduta ii, 1) and paved with bright polished slabs that reflect moonlight (Raghuvamsa xvi, 18). The *hettha pāsāda* (lower palace, *i.e.*, the lower floors) was connected with the *uparipāsāda* (upper palace) by means of steps known as *sopānas* (*loc. cit.* iii, 69), permanent

[1] The word used for the gallery is *vithi*. For a detailed description of *citrasālās see* Sivaramamurti 8.

constructions of brick or stone, or *niśśreṇis*, light flights of steps made of wood. No representation of *sopāna* or *niśśreṇi* can be seen in the sculptures from Amaravati. Each floor above the ground floor was surrounded by a low balustrade (*vedikā*), plain or ornamented (pl. xi, fig. 8), protecting a verandah (*alinda*) surrounding the apartments. But the top floor often bears instead of a *śālā*, the *valabhīs* or *valabhikas*, small pavilions each covered by a curvilinear roof with horse-shoe shaped windows such as opened from the *śālās* also. It is through the window in a *valabhī* that Malati is described as looking into the street gazing at her lover Madhava (Malatimadhava Act i, p. 15). Similar figures are often carved on the Amaravati marbles (pl. xxvii, fig. 1, pl. xxv, fig. 1). A *valabhī* large enough to form a spacious apartment and surmounted by a conspicuous finial was called a *kūtāgāra*.[1] A similar apartment at the top of a mansion was the *candraśālā*,[2] the topmost *śālā*. The term *harmya*, the residence of a wealthy man, is also often used to denote a terraced building and a distinction is drawn between a *harmya* with open terrace on top and covered or roofed *harmya* (*savitānaharmya*, Raghuvamsa xix, 39).

Kūtāgāras—*Kūtāgāras* as their name suggests resemble towers since they had *kuṭas* or peaked tops (pl. xxiv, fig. 1) Their form was probably similar to that of the *valabhī*. Their roofs were supported by curved rafters known as *gopānasī* such as were also used in the curvilinear roofs *valabhīs*. In the more or less dome-like roof of the *kuṭāgāra* the rafters met at a central point *kuṭa*, where a downwardly projecting block known as *kaṇṇika*[3] or *karṇikā* (bud) with lotus bud decoration was introduced. This can be seen even in such late structures as the famous Jain temple of Tejahpala at Mount Abu (Coomaraswamy 1, pl. lxviii). The *śikhara* or *thūpa*, in the earlier sense of the word as top or pinnacle was a feature common to all *śālās*, *aṭṭālas* and *kūṭāgaras* and the last was distinguished from the first two mainly by the presence of a *karṇikā* to which all the rafters converged.

Alindas.—The *alindas* or verandahs, as can be seen in carvings from Amaravati (pl. xi, fig. 15) were open and were therefore screened from public gaze by curtains known as *samsaraṇa kiṭika* or *ugghatana kiṭika* which can also be seen. Various kinds of curtains or blinds called *chakkalika* or *bhisi* were used.

Kapotapālikā.— Small horse-shoe shaped windows like decorations in roofs were called *kūḍus* (nests) in Tamil and in Sanskrit *kapotapālis* or *kapotapālikās* (pigeon-protections) or *vitankas*. They were intended as dovecotes and doves used to nestle in them (Sisupalavadha

[1] In explaining the verse in Sisupalavadha (iii, 53) Mallinatha equates *valabhi* and *kutāgara* and quotes from Amarakosha "*kuṭāgāram tu valabhi*." The line however is not found in Amarakosha and is probably from a different lexicon.

[2] There is a long footnote discussing the connotation of *valabhi* on p. 121 in the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition of Amarakosha with Ramasrami's commentary. Here Makuta is quoted as authority for equating *chandraśālā* and *valabhi*. In both cases, whether the word approximates *cadraśāla or kūṭāgāra*, valabhi connotes an apartment at the top of the building. If it were like the former its roof would be shaped like *śāla*; if it were like the latter it would have an almost dome-shaped roof.

[3] For "*harṇika*" *see* discussion by Dr. Coomaraswamy in 14, p. 238.

iii, 51). They were a feature of every house. The name *kapotabālikā* is retained in the *kapotam* of later temples built according to the Dravidian order, where the *śālās* and the *karṇakūḍus* the two types of pavilion ornament decorating their towers are survivals of the old *śālās* and *kūṭāgāras* (with the *karṇikā*.).[1]

The large horse-shoe shaped windows seen in Bharhut sculptures are true windows, even though birds are seen chirping under the eaves (Coomaraswamy 7, pl. xcii, fig. 6) and are not *kapotapālikās*, for these are only ornamental structures simulating them in miniature. At Amaravati *kapotapālikās* first appear in the second period and were freely used in the third and fourth periods (pl. xi, fig. 10). Long after the horse-shoe shaped windows had been completely reduced to ornamentation human heads were carved within them as at Mahabalipuram and other early Pallava temples. The mode of representing complete human figures in such *kūḍus* as seen in some sculptures from Amaravati (pl. lxi, fig. 2) lingered on even in the early Cola period.

Windows (*gavākshas* or *vātāyanas*).—As already indicated, early windows were commonly shaped like *kūḍus* but differed from them in being larger and in opening into the interior of the building instead of being purely ornamental like the dovecotes that had only sufficient recess for birds. The window that is generally shown in the Amaravati sculptures is the *tungavātāyana* described in the Malatimadhava—a tall rectangular framework topped by an arch. It is the same as the *mahāvātapāna*—illustrated by Coomaraswamy (7, pl. xcvi fig. 17). The arch had radiating ribs (pl. xi. fig. 12). In town buildings a number of windows were often arranged in a row termed *gavākshamāla* or garland of windows (Raghuvamsa vii, 11) of which an example will be found in pl, xiv, fig. 3 and pl. xxv, fig. 1. Some of these were protected by lattice (*jāla*) and people within had to look through the apertures. The *jāla* type of window (*jālavātapāna*)[2] is commonly mentioned in literature (Milindapanha 55) and various examples are shown in an early piece of sculpture from Amaravati (pl. xi, fig. 11). Barred windows (*śalākāvātapāna*) were common in humble dwellings (pl, xi, fig. 16) and windows closed by a lattice constructed after the manner of a Buddhist railing (*vedikāvātapāna*) are also described and can be seen in the Bhaja cave. The name *gavāksha* which has long been promiscuously used for all windows must originally have been applied to those of *kūḍu* shape with tapering finial[3] since this is the only type which resembles the eye of an ox (pl. xi, fig. 6). Windows were generally provided with shutters called *kavāṭas* or doors (Jataka ii, Text p. 274).

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1 See sketches of the two on p. 13 of Dravidian Architecture by Prof. G. Jouveau Dubreuil. Note that the *karnakudu* has a tapering top with single finial while the *śālā* has a modified barrel roof with more than one finial generally three. Doves and other birds sometimes take the place of the frieze of lions (*yālam*). These are the "*krtrimapatripankti*" referred to in the Sisupalavadha. I learn from Dr. Gravely that there is an actual representation of a cat among many doves carved on the top of a mandapa in the Varadaraja temple at Conjeeveram.

2 For representations of patterns of *jālavātapāna* and *vedikāvatapāna see* Coomaraswamy 7, pl. cv & cvi.

3 The development of this finial from the earliest plain peak through various stages like the *sirivaccha* symbol spade shape, and *simhamukha* is clearly illustrated in Coomaraswamy 7, pl. cviii & cix.

Roofs.—The roofs of palaces, as already seen, are of three types, flat, barrel or curvilinear with pointed apex. Flat roofs were called *prastara* (covering). But in many storied buildings this term was also used for the coverings of the lower floors, each of which while providing a flat ceiling for the storey below served as floor for the storey above. A *prastara* was supported on long straight beams of rectangular section (*tulās*). Barrels roofs were used over *śālās* They were elongate with curvilinear section, and were ornamented by a number of finials in a median row. Curved rafters (*gopānasī*) supported this type of roof. What the roofing of a wealthy man's house was composed of is not clear from the Amaravati sculptures, but representation from Mathura (Coomaraswamy 7, pl. xciv, fig. 13) confirms literary evidence that mentions *giñjaka* or tiles (Mahavamsa lxxxviii 97). Near Amaravati, at Goḻi, tiled roofs may also be seen in sculptures (Ramachandran, T. N. 2, pl. i d & iv a.) The exposed margin of these tiles was curved, and the tiles overlapped one another like scales. From them the ornamental scale-like decoration on temple towers of later date has originated.

Huts.—The humbler kinds of roof are clearly represented in the figures of their huts, all of which are thatched and remind us by their curvature the dwelling of Canakya as described by Candragupta's *kañcuki* (Mudrarakshasa iii, 15). Three types of these humbler dwellings are easily distinguishable. Some (pl. xi, fig. 18 & pl. xlviii, fig, 2) resemble *śālās* being rectangular with barrel roof but apparently without finials. Some resemble *koshthas* (pl. xxvii, fig. 2 b) being square with curvilinear roof on which a finial is often shown. And some (pl. xi, fig. 14 & pl. xlvi, fig. 2) are circular with hemispherical roof with or without finial. It seems possible that some *kūṭāgāras* may have had much the same form with the addition of horse-shoe windows and always a finial and that these huts may be those called *kuṭīs* in literature. The leaf huts (*uṭajas parṇakuṭīs & parṇaśālās*, Raghuvamsa i, 52, 95) must have been huts of one or more of these types, the material used in the construction of all three being leaves or rushes. The *uṭajas* had large courtyards or *aṅgaṇas* (Raghuvamsa i, 52). The windows of all three types are *śalākāvātapānas* (above p. 133) being provided with upright bars (pl. xi, fig. 16).

Religious Structures.—Among religious structures there are three types easily discerned among the representations in the Amaravati sculptures. The *devaprāsāda* or *devakula* or *āyatana* type, of which Hindu ones like the Vasudeva shrines at Besnagar and Nagari are famous, is seen in the pavilion of the yaksha Sokyavardhana (Coomaraswamy 3, pl. 26, fig. 2). The *bodhighara*—illustrated and described by Coomaraswamy (6, pl. cxxix, cxxx, cxxxi æ cxxxii)—which enshrines a tree that outgrows it is nearly of the same type. This is exquisitely carved in the Amaravati sculpture (pl, xlii, fig. 1 e). The most magnificent structure with a number of storeys providing cells for many monks—a veritable monastery and *bodhighara* in one—is shown in an early carving from Amaravati (pl. xv, fig. 1). The *vrksha caitya* (above, p. 57) is sometimes simpler and consists of a platform as seen in some of the

sculptures. In all cases the *vedikā* or *pākāra*, a rail around the tree, common in sculptures and on coins, was an important factor never to be missed. Such sculptural representations of the *vṛkshā caitya* adorned with umbrellas and surrounded by platform (*vitārdi*) and rail (*vedikā*) are reminiscent of their descriptions in the Ramayana (v, 14, 37). The yaksha Sakyavardhana is sometimes shown on such simple platforms under trees (Fergusson, pl. lxix). The *stūpa*, which is equally important as a religious edifice, is described independently on p. 17 above.

FURNITURE.

Man's craving for comfort has created a host of things that he uses in his dwellings. Soft pillows, cushions, carpets, and similar things are used for softening or supplementing chairs, stools, low seats and cots. These constitute the furniture of each household. Long use and habituation to these have made them more necessities than luxuries, Elaborate workmanship, time and care bestowed on their manufacture may speak plainly of the wealth of their owner, but even then it is only their design that is intricate and full of rich decoration, the use to which they are put being the same as in simpler ones. Much of the furniture shown in Amaravati sculptures is as fine as money could buy, but there are also plainer patterns of no less interest. For a person accustomed to court life there are seats that approach the king's own seat in richness. But in the hall of the king himself there are seats of lighter material which except for their decorative bands might well have been found under humbler roofs.

LION THRONES (SIMMASANAS).

The *simhāsanā* was the 'seat on the lion,' the seat royal for all state occasions.[1] In one of the Amaravati sculptures king Bandhuma is seen seated on an excellant example of a *simhāsana* not supported on lions, but with its arms ornamented with them (pl. xxv, fig. 2, also sketch in pl. xxi, fig. 1). In another sculpture, where royalty welcomes disciples of Buddha (pl. liii, fig. 1) the feet of the throne have the form of squatting lions such as carry the shafts of pillars of a later date in the rock-cut cave temples of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I at Mahabalipuram, and carry the throne of Somaskanda in the central cell of the cave there that he decorated with sculptures of Mahishasuramardani and Seshasayi Vishnu, The *simhāsana* with lion supports was obviously in the mind of a poet contemporary with the Pallavas when he described the ivory supports of a bedstead as shaped like lions (Dasakumaracarita, p. 97). The lion throne is the *sīhāsana* of the Pali texts that was made of fig wood and used on the coronation day and other ceremonial occasions. The restriction of the name *pallanko* to a royal seat with animal figures (Digha Nikava i, p. II, i, I, 15) seems to make it a synonym of *sīhāsana*. Though it is recorded that Buddha and other eminent members of his Order did not use seats with animal figures carved on their supports they are shown seated on such seats in later sculpture as already noticed by Rhys

1 For varieties of thrones, seats, bedsteads and other articles of furniture described in literature, and the material used for their manufacture, *see* Majumdar, G. P.

Davids (*loc. cit.* p. 12, footnote). At Amaravati there is a scene from Buddha's life—Sujata feeding the Bodhisattva (pl. lx, fig. 2)—in which the throne of Buddha has lions not as supports but under the arm-rests as in the throne of Bandhuma already described (p. 135). There is also the representation of Buddha on an actual lion throne (with lion supports) on a caitya slab in the Museum (not figured).

PALLANKAS.

A *pallāṅka* (Pali) was a rich chair and is synonymous with the Sanskrit *paryanka* or *paryankika* (Kadambari, p. 17), the *simhāsanas* already described being special forms of it in which the royal lion was an essential part. A *simhāsana* is usually supported by lions, but other types of *pallanka* are never supported by this or any other complete animal, though they may have legs carved to resemble the legs of animals, especially when circular (see below). But ordinarily the legs were composed of a bulbous portion and one or more stepped pyramids—the same two elements as are found in the pillar bases already described above, p. 131), though the pillar element called *kalaśa* in Silpa texts, unfortunately not named in earlier ones, was evidently here named *āmalaka* (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 165, Cullavagga vi, 2, 4) for the *amalaka-vantika pitham* mentioned in Pali text can only have been a chair with legs of this type. Like a *simhāsana* it was either ornamented, plated with gold and silver and gem-set or made of costly materials like ivory and spread coverlets (Raghuvamsa xvii, 21). Several varieties of *pallanka* are illustrated in the Amaravati sculptures. Arms were often but not always present. In chairs with rectangular seat the top bar of the back had projecting ends (pl. xii, fig. 2), often carved into makara heads (pl. xii, figs, 1 and 15), which where sometimes double as in the hind pair of fig. 15. Often the ends of the arm-rests were similarly decorated with projecting makara heads (pl. xii, fig. 15) or with rearing lions (pl. xxv, fig. 2 & pl, xii, fig. 1) or with both (pl. xii, fig. 15). The back was often filled with wicker work (pl. xii, fig. 2).

Pallankas with circular seats (pl. xii, figs. 3, 4 & 13 were made of wicker work with a framework of wood, so were really richly decorated kind of *bidala mancaka* (see below p. 137) Their curved back continued forwards as arms, a single pair of projecting makara heads decorated the richer kinds, sometimes with rearing lions beneath them (pl. xii, fig. 13) as in the square type. *Kulirapada* (*Loc. cit.* iii, p. 264, Cullavagga vi, 2, 3) or animals legs were also sometimes used for some *pallankas* of this type (pl. xii, fig. 7). The *kulīrā-pādāko* were generally curved (*vanka*), so were also *vankapādako* (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 264, vi, 23).

Pallankas without backs were also common (pl. xii, figs. 6 & 7) and must be among those referred to as *addha pallaṇkas* (half pallankas) though these may also have included armless chairs (pl. xii, fig. 5).

LONG SEAT (ĀSANDI).

The *āsandi* was a seat of some length on which a man could comfortably stretch himself if he chose to. The *āsandi* described in the Satapatha Brahmana, as noted by Rhys Davids (Digha Nikaya i, p. II. i, I, 15) is fit seat for a king, its height suiting it for certain ceremonies; and it was only allowed, for the Buddhist order with legs cut down (Vinaya Texts, i, Pacittiya Dhamma p. 53-54). A seat of this type is used by Buddha in a sculpture on a casing slab (pl. xxii, fig. I, also pl. xii, fig. 16). Examples with legs of the same height as those of other seats but with a longer body also occur in some of the Amaravati sculptures (see pl. xii, fig. 8, from a sculpture in the British Museum). This answers the description in the Jatakas of seats of the *āsandi* type which accommodated the whole length of a person. More than one person can sit on such a seat as for instance Sakka and Mandhata (pl, xxxiii, fig. I-f) or a king and his queens (pl. xxxii, fig. I-a; Burgess I, pl. viii. fig. 2; Fergusson, pl. lxix) or a nagaraja and his friend (Fergusson, pl. lx, fig. 2).

Low seats of varying height, are mentioned in the Vinaya texts as used by members of the Order according to seniority. These must have been seats similar to the *āsandi* or *pallanka* but with diminutive legs slightly differing in height. A picture of a number of monks seated at a feast is given in one of the sculptures (pl. xlix, fig. I-d). Coverlets were usually spread on these low seats when they were prepared for monks (Dhammapad-atthakatha i, p. 187).

MAÑCA SEATS

Mañka, the term used for cots, can also be applied to rectangular seats with light supports such as those of cots. The mañca type of seat was just like a cot, but shorter (Griffiths I, fig. 9, p. 9). It is carved in the Amaravati sculptures with back and arms added (pl. xii, fig. 12).

These seats had their legs fixed in either of two ways and were thus distinguished as *masārako* and *āhaccapādako* (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 164, Cullavagga vi, 2, 3). In the former type the mortice was cut into the leg, the tenon in the body. In the *āhaccapādako* the opposite was the case. Sometimes the supports of seats and bedsteads were removable (*loc. cit.* i, p. 159, Mahavagga i, 25, 16).

Besides these seats with legs there are *mañcas* without them both rectangular and circular.[1] The rectangular ones sometimes had a back added (pl. xii, fig. 15). Circular ones were generally of medium height (pl. xii, figs. 6 & 10) but occasionally were very low (pl. xii, fig. 14; Fergusson, pl. lxi, fig. 2). These were made entirely of cane (*vetta*) or bamboo (*velu*) and were styled *vidalamañcaka* which Buddhaghosha explains as *vettamañcam* or *velu vilivahi va vitam*. They are the *vetrāsanas*, simple and light seats.

[1] The same figures are used to illustrate *pallankas* and *mañcas*, as in practice the only difference there seems to have been between them is the relative solidity and richness of the former.

These were intended primarily for holy persons such as sages and Brahmans. In the Amaravati sculptures they are invariably used by the king's ministers, usually Brahmans (pl. li, fig. 1 a), and by women (pl. xxv, fig. 2, pl. xxxii fig. 1 a, pl. xli; fig. 1 d, pl. l, fig. 2 b) who even today in India are fastidious in their orthodoxy. Though queens are also shown seated on such seats occasionally, they prefer the seats with semi-circular backs already described (pl. xxvii, fig. 1). Some of these cane chairs were exceedingly low ones (Jataka v, No, 531, p. 156) but were wide and comfortable as seats (pl. xii, fig 14).

Wicker Stands.

There are besides the seats peculiar circular stands made of cane and shaped like a pair of truncate cones with their apices together (pl. xii, fig. 17). They are generally shown in the sculptures as used for serving food and if they had wooden tops they may probably be identified with the *bhojanaphalaka* mentioned by Buddhaghosha (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 165, Cullavagga vi, 2, 4 footnote 7), and they may also be the *pattakandolikas*, wicker stands used for vessels (*loc. cit.* iii, p, 86, v, 9, 4).

Footrests.

There are a number of footrests, *pādapīṭha* (*loc. cit.* Mahavigga i, 6, 11) both ornate and plain in the sculptures from Amaravati. They are generally rectangular and are sometimes provided with cushions (pl. xii, fig, 1, 2, 9, 12, 15). Though in association with the royal throne they suggest sovereignty, since it is the *pādapīṭha* that is contantly described as rubbed by the crowns of vassal chiefs and princes, footrests provide great comfort for the feet and were a common article of household furniture.

Mañca Cots.

The bedsteads illustrated in Amaravati sculpture are light mañcas either of wood or of cane or split bamboo (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 164, g Cullavagga vi, 2, 3), no doubt identical with the *vetrapaṭṭikā* mentioned by Bana (Harshacharitra, p. 151). The frame of the *mañca* was generally on movable supports, *patipadaka*. As suggested by a passage from Cullavagga, noted by Rhys Davids as throwing welcome light on the connotation of *mañca* and *pīṭha*, the wooden framework was well stuffed to admit of beating the dust off it (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 278, Cullavagga viii, 1, 4). The *mañca* often occurs in the scene of Mayadevi's dream (pl. 1, fig. 2 a) and also elsewhere; but the peculiar roll-shaped thing beside Maya on her bed, which seems always to characterise the beds of pregnant women, is not easily understood. Can it be a long stuffed pillow? The pillows used on beds are tremendously large ones (pl. xii, fig. 11). The frame of the bed had strong cord woven across running through holes pierced in it (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 167, vi, 2, 6). The bedstead with its pillows and coverlets arranged upon it constituted the *senāsanam* (bedding).

PILLOWS AND CUSHIONS.

Pillows and Cushionsa (*bimbohaṇ* and *bhisi* respectively) were freely used and as depicted in the sculptures were well stuffed, and sometimes very large (pl. xii, fig. 11). They were usually red in colour (Jataka v, No. 537, p, 276; Digha Nikaya i, p. 13, i, 1, 15). The material was wool, cotton, bark, grass or *tāli* (palmyra) leaves (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 168, Cullavagga vi, 2, 7). The coverlets were decorated with patterns and figures (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 168, vi. 2, 7). Coverlets of goat's hair, skin of animals and silks were used[1]. Buddha's empty throne is invariably represented with two cushions, one to sit on and the other to lean on (pl. xxi, fig. 1). The stitches for keeping the stuffed material in position sometimes run in almost *svastika* fashion (pl. iv, fig, 33) or in regular parallel lines (pl. xii, fig. 5). The cushions used on some of the seats were prepared to fit them exactly and from their covers hung small tassels that added to their beauty (pl. xii, fig. 12). Other pillows known as *maṇḍalāgra bṛsis* were rounded at their corners, as described in the Ramayana (v, 18, 12) or circular to suit the cane seats (pl. xii, fig. 10). Seats and footrests were not, however, considered absolutely essential, cushions being used sometimes in their stead.

BOXES.

Boxes or *samudgakas* are also to be seen in some of the sculptures. They were rectangular or circular and were intended for holding jewels. The cover was easily removed and a woman is shown taking out necklaces and other ornaments from the caskets to hand them to her mistress who is getting dressed (pl. xxvii, fig 1, pl. ix fig. 16; Fergusson, pl. lxix), The boxes were generally of costly material line ivory—dantasabharukas (Harsha-carita p. 148, 130). From one of the Jatakas we learn that there were special servants who were custodians of these caskets. *Tāmbūlakaraṇḍakas* boxes for betel leaves, nuts and spices, were always carried by servants, generally women (*tāmbūlakaraṇḍavāhinīs*) in the households of princes and moneyed-folk. A *vāmanikā* is shown carrying a *tāmbula-karaṇḍa* in a scene from Amaravati (pl. xliv, fig. 1 a, pl. v, fig. 13). There were other circular boxes of rushes or cane intended for snakes carried by snake charmers (pl. xxxv, fig, 1).

VEHICLES.

Quick and comfortable transport of mẹn and things is the purpose that accounts for the necessity of manufacturing vehicles. The village carpenter has always been at work making or repairing carts for his neighbours, and yoked oxen have been dragging vehicles for ages.

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[1] Digha Nikaya i, p. 12, i. 1, 15. A large variety of coverlets, blankets and rugs are mentioned here; also Jataka v, No, 534, p, 199, Kasi cloth and tiger's skin for covering couches.

CARTS AND CARRIAGES.

The most common vehicle of ancient India is the *go-ratha* or bullock-cart. There were varying degrees of comfort in this vehicle which was dragged by bulls of various breeds. The carts used by merchants for carrying their wares travelled as a caravan as narrated in the Jatakas (i, No. I, p. 4) and were heavily built. The bullock cart of the metchants. Trapusha and Bhalla who adored suddha may be seen in an Amaravati sculpture in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. lviii, fig. 1) There were light vehicles (*pravahaṇas*) for short pleasant journeys whieh resembled those of Sakara and Vasantasena in the Mrccha-katika. Such a vehicle drawn by a pair of bullocks is carved in scenes from Vessantara Jataka (pl. lxiii, fig. 5 c & pl, x, fig. 19). Greater details of this type of cart can be seen in the illustrations of the same story from Goli (see pl. v c & d Ramachandran, T. N. 2). The cart was provided with *yānāstaraṇa* (soft carpets) on which the *pravahaṇasvāmi*, the owner of the cart, sat comfortably (Mrcchakatika, Act vi, p. 141). Sometimes the *pravahaṇa* was *apavārita*, covered by a screen (*loc. cit.* Act vi, p. 148), but generally it was open. The *pravahaṇa*, being the high class vehicle of the opulent citizen, was far superior to the *grāmasakata* or country cart of which large numbers always moved slowly along blocking the way even on the high road. And the *pravahaṇa-vāhaka* (pravahana driver) though conscious of his superiority as the master of speedier and better vehicle was nevertheless often kind enough to lend a hand at turning the wheel of those tardy carts (*loc. cit.* Act. vi, p. 142) which often got stuck and would not move. Bnt the best of these carts—even the *prāvahaṇa* of the king's brother-in-law—creaked as it moved "like an old pig" (*loc. cit.* Act viii, p. 171).

The bulls yoked to the cart were carefully chosen, auspicious marks on their body being duly taken into account (Panchaiantra, p. 5). They were sometimes so fiery, the rope through their nostrils tickling them all the while (Mrcchakatika Act vi, p. 141 & 145), that their driver had a hard time with them,

Carriages were drawn by horses as well as by bullocks. The festive chariot mentioned in the Jatakas (vi, No. 539, p. 25) had four horses yoked to it. It was a "car of wood deftly framed" (*loc. cit.* v, No. 526, p. 101) and painted gaily with colour which was often renewed as it grew dim (*loc. cit.* v, No. 537, p. 264). A car of this type is illustrated in one of the drawings of an Amaravaii sculpture prepared by Col. Mackenzie (Fergusson, pl. lxxxvi) and closely resembles the war chariot (pl. x, fig. 13.)

PALANQUINS (SIBIKAS).

Sibikās according to the Ramayana (v. 6, 35) were of different shapes—*śibikā viviahā-kārāh* Two types are illustrated in the Amaravati sculpture (pl. x, figs. 20 & 21), but both are what Kalidasa (Raghuvamsa vi, 10) calls *chaturaśrayāna* (i.e,, a square or rectangular vehicle borne by men—*manushyavāhya* for both the *śibikās* in the sculptures are rectangular

as well as being borne by men. The one (pl. x, fig. 20) is like a small *maṇḍapa* and accommodated a single person. But the other (pl. x, fig. 21), is more like an apartment with windows and blinds and an elaborate cover provided with finials,[1] and was intended for a larger number as is clear from a drawing of a sculpture (Fergusson, pl. lxxxiv, fig. 1) where actual men, not dwarf goblins, bear the palanquin in which are seated quite a number of men and women.

Navigation flourished in the Satavahana period as the ship coins of the Satakarnis indicate. Though unfortunately no sculpture from Amaravati with a ship or boat is preserved either in Madras or in the British Museum, there is a drawing prepared by Col. Mackenzie in which a boat occurs (Fergusson, pl. lxviii). The elaborate decoration lavished on it enables us to imagine how beautiful must have been the royal pleasure boats and how much grander the merchant vessels and warships.

VESSELS.

The potter's art is mainly the outcome of man's necessity for vessels shaped to suit various purposes. The metal-worker has copied in more permanent material shapes that were first created in clay. Thus arose numerous shapes among vessels of which many are quite pleasing to the eye and reflect great credit on the genius of the fashioner. The vessels in the carvings of Amaravati are varied and some are very beautiful. There are vessels for holding liquids, semi-liquids and solids. The pot *udakamaṇika* (Vinaya Texts, iii, p. 98, Mahavagga vi, 28, 2)[2] or *pānīyaghata* (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 292, Cullavagga viii, 5, 3) for storing drinking water presumably resembled the water-pot carried by a woman in pl. xxiv, fig. 3. The vessel for taking water from its receptacle for use is *paribhojanīyaghaṭa* (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 292, viii, 5, 3) similar to the one used for pouring water in small quantities on the head and body during bath (pl. lv, fig. 2 g & pl. v, fig. 21). To this class belong the pots used for watering the Bodhi tree (Burgess 1, pl. xlvi, fig. 3). *Thālika* (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 51, Mahavagga vi, 12, 1) is probably the deep bowl for cooking and holding rice (pl. v, fig. 26). *Śarāva* (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 51, vi, 12, 1, Jataka v, No. 524, p. 88) is a shallow saucer for holding semi-liquids and also a vessel from which to eat (pl. v, fig. 25). This was sometimes also used to hold water and was called *pānīya śarāpakam* (Vinaya Texts iii, p. 176, Cullavagga vi, 3, 7; p. 108, v, 14, 3). *Kaṭaccus* (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 290, viii, 5, 2) are ladles or spoons used for holding small quantities of solid or liquid food in a larger vessel. A deep ladle with a long handle may be seen in the scene of Sujata feeding the Bodhisatta among the Goli sculptures (T. N. Ramachandran, pl. viii). All the above vessels are plain.

But there are lovelier vessels shaped in a pleasing manner for handling with greater grace and ease. The addition of a spoon to take out small quantities from a water pot or

[1] I learn from Dr. Gravely that eleborate gilded and roofed palanquins resembling the early ones are to be found still used in some States in North India.

[2] For this and other terms in this section the Pali text of Vinaya may also be consulted.

vessel was avoided by simplifying the vessel itself into a spouted one from which water could be slowly drained. Spouted vessels are very common in the sculptures (pl. v, figs. 18, 19, 30). For convenience of handling, they were almost invariably provided with handles (pl. v. fig. 22, 27, 30). The *Dhammakaraka*[1] used by the monks was presumably of this type. The *bhinkāra* (Pali) or *bhṛngāra* (Sanskrit) was a beautiful vessel with a narrow neck and side handle (see pl. v, fig. 27, 30). It was generally executed in costly metal, *sovaṇṇamayam bhinkāram* (Vinaya Texts i, p. 143, Mahavagga i, 22, 18) and beautifully shaped as in the sculpture depicting Sujata feeding Buddha (pl. v, fig. 27) and contained cool scented drinking water (Venisamhara, Act vi, p. 173).

Bhāṇḍās, or large vessels used for storing wine, are shown on gaily painted and decorated *pīthas* (Vinaya Texts iii,p. 82, Cullavagga v, 9, 2) or small rests known as *patta maṇḍala* Vinaya Texts (*loc. cit.* iii, p. 82, v, 9, 2 or *patta dharaka* (*loc. cit.* iii, p, 85, v, 9, 4; pl, v, fig. 24). A large variety of drinks extracted from flowers, fruit and grain are mentioned in the Mahavagga and in the Arthasastra and were preserved in these *surābhāṇḍas* also known as *madhucātis*. *Pānapatras* or *chashakas* were the cups into which wine was poured for drinking and an example may be seen in the hands of a lady from one of the mithunas between two scenes (pl. v, fig. 20, 29). Besides these there are large trays in which offerings are carried (pl. v, fig. 28) or objects of worship like Siddhartha's turban (pl. xxviii, fig. 2 b) or the Bodhisattva's bowl (pl. xxvi, fig. 1).

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

The complexity of life makes many articles of common use essential to every household. Their very nature as common articles accounts for our lack of special interest in them as they exist to-day. But when the same objects occurring two thousand years ago are figured in sculptures depicting their use at that time our curiosity and interest are at once aroused. Many such articles may be discerned in the Amaravati sculptures some of which must now be considered.

LAMPS.

Lamps are essential in every household after dusk. Earthen lamps shaped like pans to take the oil and provided with a small beak for the wick are the most common. The richer ones are of metal. They may be plain or ornamented, with or without stands. They were placed in the lamp-cells in the walls (pl. xlvi, fig. 1) or carried about in the hands (pl. lvii, fig. 3 a) as occasion required. *Dīpavṛkshas* are lamp-stands with many branches to support a number of pans which when lit and placed centrally, illuminate beautifully. But only smaller types of lamps and pans are figured in Amaravati (pl. v, fig. 32, 33).

[1] *Karaka, karkarikā* and *karkari* (Sanskrit), Harshacaitra, p. 156 are the same.

Toys.

Toys for children to play with are among the most interesting antiquities unearthed by excavators. The famous drama Mrcchakatika is named after a clay-cart, the toy of Rohasena. A wealth of toys is mentioned in the Pali texts (Digha Nikaya i, pp. 10–11, i, 1, 14, Milindapanha ii, p. 32, Text p. 229): toy ploughs, tip-cat sticks, toy wind mills, measures made of leaves, toy-carts, and bows and arrows. The natural tendency in children is to cry for playthings, so fond of them are they, and in the Mugapakkha Jataka (vi, No. 538, p. 4) figures of elephants, etc., are set before the child, the Bodhisatta. In the Mahabharata (iii, 293, 13), Narada narrates how Satyavan is called Citrasva, since as a small boy he was fond of preparing clay figures of horses. Such toys are generally mounted on wheels and pulled along by means of string as the proud little owner runs along. A boy running along in great glee, pulling the toy after him, may be seen in a sculpture from Nagarjunakonda (Longhurst, 2, pl. ix-c). At Amaravati, unless rattles held by dwarfs are regarded also as toys, toys on two appear, one an elephant and the other a horse (pl. v, fig- 23, 31). Both are mounted on wheels and pulled by children, the companions of Rahula, in a sculpture in the British Museum depicting the scene of Buddha's visit to Yasodhara (Fergusson, pl. lix, fig. 2),

Balances.

In remote villages still untouched by modern town atmosphere there still lingers a balance which has been in use for over two thousand years and is the only one represented in early Indian sculpture (pl. v, fig. 35). It is therefore presumably to this kind of balance that one of the Jatakas (vi, No. 544, p. 119) refers when it says " as the balance properly hung in the weighing house causes the end to swing up when the weight is put in." When the piece of string by which the bar with scale marked on it is held, is adjusted in its proper place according to the weight of the substance in the single pan at one end, the other end of the pole rises up to stand horizontally signifying proper weight. This balance occurs often in the Amaravati sculptures. Sarvamdada's flesh was weighed in such a balance (pl. xxviii, fig. 1 c) which is so invariably shown in illustrations of this Jataka that its presence is sufficient for identifying the scene.

Fans.

In summer there is no greater blessing than a shady tree and a fan. For fanning oneself or some other, for brightening the kitehen fire and for cooling a hot dish of food, it is the fan that is used, as pictured in the Amaravati sculptures (pl. xlvi, fig. 2 b & pl. v, fig. 34). The fan—*tālavanta*—is woven of strips of palm leaf and sometimes of split bamboo or rushes in circular or square shape with the handle on one side.

HUNTING EQUIPMENT.

Life in the forest necessitates the use of certain special articles. In the Harshacarita Bana gives a picturesque description of hunters. From their backs are suspended gourds. These gourds for carrying some of their materials or their game, are shown in the sculptures from Amaravati. Hunters also have various nets and traps known as *vāgurā* (Amarakosha ii, 10, 26) for catching animals and birds (pl. xxviii, fig. I a). When attached to long poles or handles they are known as *daṇḍavākara* (pl. v, fig. 11).

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Though the subtlety and modulations of the human voice are recognised as being superior to musical instruments, accompaniment to the voice has always been welcomed. The drone of the pipe and the twang of the most primitive of musical instruments with a single or double string form a kind of background even for primitive song. But methods of copying the various modulations of the voice on instruments has from the earliest times engaged the attention of the artistic genius of man and so has brought into being and developed different musical instruments.

The earliest literary works of India was well as her most ancient sculptures have preserved descriptions and forms of musical instruments. These have been traditionally classified under four heads,* *tata* which includes all stringed instruments, *ānaddha* which includes all that are struck like drums, *svshira* which includes all tubular instruments like the flute and the chank, *ghana* which includes all cymball-like resonators. Though the Pali word *turiya* (Sanskrit *tūrya*) which connotes an orchestra, whether for music alone or as accompaniment to song or dance, should mean only these four, the very name being suggestive of this, five—*atata vitala, atata-vitata, ghana* and *sushira* are euumerated as making up a *turiyā pañcāngika* (five-limbed orchestra—Vimanavatthu 5, 4),[1] The *atata-vitata* which is a combination of *atata* (Sanskrit *tata*) and *vitata* (Sanskrit *ānaddha*) must refer to some combination instrument like the *tant.ipatahikā* or stringed drum (Harsha-carita, p. 131).

VIṆĀ

Harp Type.—The first of the *tatas* was the *viṇā*, the most famous of Indian musical instruments. The commonest type of *vīṇā* was bow-shaped and resembled a harp, but there was also another type which was more like a guitar. The former was evolved on the principle of the bow and the resonator, the musical twang of the bowstring being a favourite sound often eulogised by poets as deep and pleasant. The interval between strings tied to the bow-shaped rod immediately above the resonator increased or diminished their length and thus determined the modulation of the note imitating vocal vibrations. In the story of king Udayana

[1] *See* Pali Dictionary by Rhys Davids under "*turiya*" for classification.

and his queens Magandiya and Samavati, the first mentioned queen put a snake in the hole of the resonator and stopped it with flowers (Dhammapad-atthakatha i, p. 285). This hole in the piece of leather covering the vault of the resonator was for deepening the sound of the string. The entire body of the vina with the exception of the strings and leather was of wood and was generally gaily painted over with gold (Buddhacarita, v, 48) and jewel-studded. The strings (*tantrī*) for the vina were generally seven. This type of vina was the oldest and most common, the *saptatantrī vīṇā* (Mrcchakatika, Act v, p, 118) though its correct appellation is *parivādinī* (see Amarakosha *sā tu tantrībhis saptabhiḥ parivādinī*). The guitar type from which the modern vina is derived seems to have been less common as it is less frequently shown in sculpture and the general term vina was used freely for the harp type also.

Guitar Type—The guitar-like vina had a pear-shaped resonator and straight neck (pl. xiii, figs. 11 & 14). The strings extended across the resonator's flat top which must also have been of leather. There were holes in the top cover of the resonator as in the bow-shaped vina. The strings were tuned with the help of small pegs which were tightened and loosened as required. With the resonator shaped like a tortoise shell, and with the neck appearing almost like the creature's head peering from its shell, though being rather long for that, this vina is probably the nearest approach we can get to the *kacchapī* the favourite musical instrument of Sarasvati, the shape of which is suggested by its name as pointed out by my friend Dr. V. Raghavan. I am told by Mr. K. V. Ramachandran that the *kacchapī* is a different instrument that still survives in Java. And the guitar-like *vīṇā* is, according to him, a musical instrument known as *citra* from which probably the modern sitar is derived. This instrument usually had five strings, a number which agrees with the number of strings on a similar instrument used in early Egypt. This form is represented in many early sculptures (Burgess 1, p. 35, fig. 7; Coomaraswamy plate illustrating 13).

Both types of vina were generally played by people seated and hence are described as resting in their lap (Meghaduta ii, 25; Kadambari, p. 260) as is seen in the sculptures pl. xiii, figs. 7 & 14), Often as in the illustrations mentioned, it was held in such a way as to rest on the breasts when the player was a woman, and has been poetically described (Svapnavasavadatta Act v) as being lulled to sleep that way; see also the vina player with the bows-haped instrument in the dancing scene from an architrave at Pawaya, Gwalior State, which accompanies Coomaraswamy's paper on the Old Indian Vina, p. 50. The harp-like vina was sometimes held by a strap that came over the shoulder and could then be played by a person even while standing[1] (pl. xiii, fig. 3). At home vinas were played solo as a pleasant pastime. In the Mrcchakatika, Carudatta enumerates the various uses of the vina, which is praised as a "gem but not from the ocean" suggesting that it is next only to the *kaustubha*, the gem *par excellence* that rose out of the Milky Ocean. It is an amiable companion for the forlorn, an excellent pastime when the lover tarries at a tryst, a comforting friend for the separated lover, and a joyous enhancer of love to one in

[1] *See* under *patta* in Coomaraswamy 12, p. 250.

love (Mrcchakatika, Act iii, 3 p. 69). Both types of vina were played with the finger tips or their nails. But the harp-like vina was sometimes played with the aid of a small plectrum (*koṇa*). Sounding the strings softly with the finger nails was technically called *sāraṇa* *loc. cit.* Act iv, p. 102; Meghadutta ii, 25), while louder with the plectrum the process was known as *ghaṭṭana* or *koṇāghāta* (Mrcchakatika, Act i, p. 18). Both the methods are illustrated in the sculptures (p. xiii, figs. 3 & 7). The plectrum was small and was held in the hand much as is the one used today when playing the *goṭuvādyam*.

The vina has from very ancient times been distributed in many parts of the globe, and its name in Egypt *bjnt* or *bin* is surprisingly similar to the Indian name.[1] The harps discovered by Sri Leonard Woolley in Ur have a shape that closely resembles that of the Grecian lyre (see figure of statue of Apollo as the God of Music in the Vatican in "Smaller Classical Dictionary" by Marinden, p. 56) but it cannot be denied they are closely related to the Indian harp which they approach in certain features such as their slender frame. The harp-like vina is carved at Barabudur and survives even to this day in Burma.[2]

Flute.

Of the *sushira* or tubular instruments, the flute (*veṇu*) is the most important. It is one of the sweetest and most portable of musical instruments. Based on the principle of a breath of air escaping through holes made in a bamboo tube, it is easily manufactured The number of holes varies. Today a flute has eight holes. Bus the early ones appear to have had only seven holes—*veṇuṃ gāyāmi saptacchidram* (Mrcchaka tika, Act v, p. 118) Some varieties of flute are, today at least, held across the mouth, but most are held along it. The latter variety is often portrayed in painting and sculpture. It is played together with the vina and other instruments in musical orchestras (pl. xiii, fig. 6).

Conch with and without Metal Pipe attached.

To the *sushira* category belongs also the *śankha* or conch shell. It is considered most auspicious, for one of Kubera's treasures is a never failing gold-producing conch. It was always carried by warriors to sound before and after battle (Mahabharata vi, 1, 15–18; Raghuvamsa vii, 63). Martial conchs were so loud that the sound was enough to set the enemy running (Mahabharata, iv, 66, 11; vi, 1, 19). They were so important that each hero gave his conch a name, Pancajanya of Krshna and Devadatta of Arjuna being two of the most famous (*loc. cit.* vi, 1, 18).

But the conch had its place in a musical orchestra. It was sounded with other instruments but only at intervals (Ramayana ii, 81). There were two ways in which it was blown, either the perforated tip of the shell itself being put to the lips or sometimes a long ornamental pipe attached to it. Both methods are shown in the Amaravati Sculptures (pl. xiii, figs. 1 & 5). In the Bharhut sculptures it is the shell with the long pipe that is invariably

[1] *See* Coomaraswamy 13, pp. 49–50 where he discusses the distribution and antiquity of the vina in Egypt and in various Asiatic countries.

[2] For a more detailed account of the vina and its parts *see* Coomaraswamy 12, pp. 244-253.

shown (Cunningham 1, pl. xxxiii, figs. 1, 2 & 3), and it invariably accompanies the *dundubhi* a large drum, which shows that it was a loud instrument often serving the purpose of a trumpet. Its sound is always described as deep and noble. Perhaps the addition of the long metal pipe made it shrill as Cunningham thinks (1, p. 126). The process of blowing the conch was called *dhamana,* blowing or *purana,* filling (Kadambari, p. 33).

Drums.

The *ānaddha* or 'beaten' instruments included a large number of drums varying in their sound and pattern. From the loud and noisy thuds of the *pataha* to the sweet-sounding notes of the tabor there are many subtle modulations in their sound. The most fearful sound was that of the *pretapaṭahas* or funeral drums. On the battle-field *patahas, dundubhis, ānakas* and other large drums were struck. In all these cases *koṇas* or drum-sticks were used (Ramayana ii, 81, 2; vi, 60, 48–49). Since *koṇāghāta* the beat of the drumstick produced a great volume of sound, *koṇāghata* itself came to mean loud sound as in an orchestra where many *koṅas* would naturally be used. The *paātahkālanāndi-paṭaha,* the auspicious drum sounded in the morning along with conchs to announce the break of day (Harshacarita, p. 125; Raghuvamsa vi, 56), also required drumsticks and was used to announce the time, being sounded at other hours also (Kadambari, pp. 27–28). The large instrument carried by two dwarfs with *koṅas* in their hands is either this or from its apparent weight perhaps more probably a gong similarly used (pl. xiii, fig. 13), or perhaps also used in monasteries and near stupas (pl. xxii, fig. 2) for calling congregations to worship. Such gongs known as *gaṇdi* are mentioned in the Bhisi and Losaka Jatakas. The smaller drum suspended by a strap from the shoulder and played with a drumstick is probably a *marbala* and is midway between the more refined *muraja* and the noisy *paṭaha*. It must have been very like the modern South Indian *tavil,* for each has to be played on one side with a single drumstick, and on the other with the fingers (pl. xiii, fig. 2).

The drums sounding most pleasant to the ear, such as *muraja, mṛdanga* and *pushkara* are those generally used as musical accompaniments. The sound of the *muraja* is described as deep and noble (Meghaduta ii, 1); that of the *mṛdanga* tapped with finger tips resembles the rumble of clouds (Mrcchakatika, Act iv, p. 102). Softly tapped with fingers tips by women the mṛdanga sounds sweet (Buddhacarita, ii, 30). *Dardurās, paṇavas* (*loc. cit.* Act iii, p. 75) and *jarjharikas* (Kadambari, p. 13) are other varieties of soft-toned drum. The *mūraja* and *mṛdanga* often required a kind of rice-paste to be applied to both the leathern surfaces to sweeten their sound. Though sweet after a fresh application of the paste the sound (*loc. cit.*, p. 56) becomes distasteful with the diminution of that substance (Gathasaptasati iii, 53).[1]

[1] This remark coming from the pen of one of the Satavahana emperors as a casual illustration to prove a general remark about ungrateful persons, shows how very important a role music and other arts played in the daily life of that period, which alone can explain such spontaneous expression.

Three types of *mṛdanga* can be distinguished : *ankya*, *āliugya*, and *ūrdhvaka*. Their names denote the positions in which they were respectively held, all of which can be seen represented in Amaravati Sculptures. The *ankya* is placed on the lap when it is played and can be seen in pl. xiii, figs. 10 and 12. Judging from its size its sound should have been rather soft. The *ālingya*, larger than the *ankya* but also placed on the lap as in pl. xiii, figs. 8 and 9, was tapped softly in different places for producing sweet sound (Harshacarita, p. 131). This and the *ūrdhvaha* went together as seen in pl. xiii, figs. 8 and 9, and the former, though taller than the modern *tabla*, was played in much the same fashion as it (pl. xiii, fig. 8).

DANCE.

Kalidasa has said that dance though of different modes is yet the one thing sure to please people whose tastes by nature differ. He has also praised it as the sweet sacrifice of the gods which gladdens the eye. Dance is of two kinds according to whether it is soft or violent. The former is *lāsya* and the latter *tāṇḍava*.

Lāsya is graceful feminine dance, and in ancient India this art was learnt in many a cultured home. Princesses were adepts at it and we often hear of *avarodhasangītakvs*, musical and dance recitals in the harem. Prince Naravahanadatta, the son of Udayana, himself played the tabor as his consort danced (Kathasaritsagara vi. 8, 171). Even the dance masters were put to shame as Agnivarna played the lute and watched for a stray false step of the dancers in his harem (Raghuvamsa xix, 14). Malavika, the young queen of the Sunga Emperor Agnimitra, was an adept at dancing and could do credit to the high reputation of her master at the art (Malavikagnimitra Act i, p, 30). Bharhut Sculptures (Cunningham 1, pl. xv, xvi) showing dance scenes act as commentaries to some of the dance passages of Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitra.

There are three lovely dance scenes among the carvings from Amaravati and another containing single dancers. Two sculptures, one of which is preserved only in a drawing by Col. Mackenzie, show women dancing to entertain a king in his harem. The third shows the division of the relics at Kusinara where women are also shown dancing. In these sculptures all the dance requirements are satisfied. The *nepathya* or dress of the dancer is, as described by Kalidasa[1], just enough to drape the body without obscuring its lovely contours (Malavikagnimitra Act i. p. 22). Musical instruments accompany the movements of the dancer, but whereas music is of primary importance in *nrtta* (pure dance), *abhinaya* or gesture is the soul of *nṛtya* (suggestive dance) and music has only a secondary place (Natyasastra i, p. 188, iv, 283).[2]

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[1] Malavikagnimitra Act i, p. 22. Compare with this the danseuse or actress on p. 15, Coomaraswamy and Duggirala.

[2] Natyasastra i, p. 188. See '*Yatrābhineyam gītam syāttatra vādyam na yojayet*' and Abhinavagupta's commentary.

The movements of the dancer in these three sculptures at once bring before our eyes some of the many ancient dance movements which form the lovely *karaṇas* described by Bharata. *Karaṇa* is " the rhythmic co-ordination of the patterned movements of hands and feet from a basic attitude " (K. V. Ramachandran, p. 526). The basic attitudes are the *samapada, vaishnava, maṇḍala* and other sthanas (Natyasastra ii, pp. 107-111, x, 51-72). Fortunately the Chola monarchs encouraged the sculptors of their realm to immortalise the dance poses by carving them in stone on various gopuras of which that of Chidambaram is the most celebrated[1] and Rajendra, one of the greatest of them witnessed at leisure at Tiruvottiyur the performance of a highly celebrated dancer of his time. Their sculptures, though late mediæval, help to explain obscure passages in Bharata and are of great help for comparison with earlier sculptural representations which seem to be nearer the spirit of the text.

In the Amaravati Sculpture pl. xiii, fig. 16, there are four dancers, and the attitude of the central figure behind at once suggests the *alārippu* of modern Bharata natya performances, the movement made by the *nartakī* (danseuse) just after she enters the stage (*ranga*). Bharata gives an elaborate description of the *praveśa* (entry) of the nartaki. The *kutapa vinyāsa* (musical arrangments) over, the actress enters (*loc. cit.* i, p. 186, iv, 278), and after different *cārīs* in accordance with the music she stands in the *vaiśakha* basic attitude (*sthāna*) and sways her limbs in all the prescribed movements (*recitas* or *recakas loc. cit.* i, p. 187, iv, 281-282 commentary). She carries a *pushpāñjali* or a handful of flowers—Bharata's great commentator Abhinavagupta describes the *karaṇa* for this as *talapushpapuṭa*—and after strewing them all round and bowing to the gods she begins to dance. Abhinavagupta explains karana of this as *vaiśāka recitaka*. One of the movements of the hands in *patāka* (flag-like) *hasta*[2] as they are brought inwards shoulders, elbows and wrists on a level, has been well caught in the sculpture. The movements (*recitas*) have to be imagined, since sculpture cannot give a continous sequence of movements. The *sthāna* however is more like *maṇḍala* than *vaiśākha* (Natyasastra ii, p. 110, x, 65-66, 63-64) the legs being closer; and this excellently suits the dancer since *maṇḍala*, not *vaiśākha*, is more appropriate for graceful feminine dance.

The dancer in front of her is in the *ālīḍha sthāna*, the *sthāna* which suggests both a warrior in action and a wrestler (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 111, x, 67-70). The suggestion of *malla* by pun on the word which means the Malla tribe as well as " wrestles " is here noteworthy as the scene is in Kusinara, the seat of the Mallas. The hands are in *śukatuṇḍa* or *katakāmukha hasta* and suggest the drawing of an arrow or a bow. The *karaṇa* appears to be *vyamsita* which is suggestive of a perplexing situation which is not infrequent in war (*loc. cit.* i, p. 119, iv, 109).

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[1] *See* Madras Epigraphical Annual Report for 1914 for woodcuts of 'karanas' and Tandavalakshana by B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, Srinivasalu Naidu, and Venkatarangayya Pantulu for photographs of the same.

[2] For this and other *hastas*, see pl. xiv b, xv–xix in Coomaraswamy and Duggirala.

To her left the dancer is in the *sthāna* known as *ardhamattalli* suggestive of the intoxication of youth (*loc. cit.* i, p, 112, iv, 89). The left hand is in *recita* and the right is on the hip. The position of the legs here known as *skhalitāpasṛta* can be understood with the help of this sculpture. The corresponding figure to the right resembles the last, except in the change of the attitudc of the hands from the right to the left for symmetry.

In the drawing by Col. Mackenzie published by Fergusson (pl. lxxiii, fig. 1), six dancers are entertaining a king by their art. The central one among the three to the back is more in the *vaiśākha* than in the *maṇḍala sthana* and her hands are on her waist. The *karaṇa* here appears to be *chinna* (*loc. cit.* i, p. 118, iv, 106), with suggestion of *valitoru* (*loc. cit.* i, p. 99, iv, 63) and *apaviddha* (*loc. cit.* i, p. 113, iv, 92). To her left the dancer has raised her leg in the *bhujangāñcita* fashion (*loc. cit.* i, p. 116, iv, 101). Her left hand is in the *recita* attitude and the right in *patāka hasta* near shoulder. The dancer to the right of the central one corresponds to the one on the left.

To the front there are three dancers in a row of whom the first stands in the *samapada sthāna* (*loc. cit.* ii, p. 109, x, 58) with the hands held in *patāka hasta* obviously while swaying neck, hip and hand—*recita*. The dancer to her right is in the *karaṇa* known as *latāvṛścika* her left hand and leg being in the *latā* and *vṛścika* postures respectively. Her pose suggests descent from heaven (*loc. cit.* i, p. 118, iv, 105). She is balanced on the other side by a corresponding dancer in similar attitude.

The other scene in a harem, where a dancer shows her skill is in a sculpture in the British Museum (pl. xiii, fig. 15 ; also Fergusson, pl. lxii, 2). She keeps time with her feet and moves in what may be *atikrānta karaṇa* suggestive of valour (*loc. cit.* i, p. 126, iv. 127). She answers the description of a perfect danseuse who, while marking the *tāla* (rhythm) with her feet, uses the art of gesture with its eye-movements and symbolic postures of the hand to express the emotions of the song poured out by her sweet voice (Abhinaya Darpana, Text 36, p. 5).

One of the sculptures first dug out from Amaravati by Col. Mackenzie and sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta (Fergusson, pl. lxxiv), shows some of the devas dancing merrily, while others sound musical instruments as the Bodhisattva descends to the earth in a beautiful pavilion from the Tushita heaven for birth in the royal house of Suddhodana. A deva towards the extreme right top behind the pavilion is dancing in the famous *karaṇa* known as *ūrdhvajānu* (*loc. cit.*, i, p. III, iv, 86).

Thus Amaravati Sculptures include all four elements of *abhinaya, āngika, vācika, āhāryika* and *sāttvika*. For *āngika abhinaya* is seen in the various *hastas, karaṇas* and *sthanas* that make up the attitudes of the dancing figures ; *vācika abhinaya* is suggested by the musical instruments which accompany the vocal music of the dancer ; even *āhārya abhinaya*, the dress suggestive of the theme, can be seen in the dress and ornamentation used for the figures. *Sāttvīka abhinaya* or suggestion of emotion, the most essential but most difficult element

cannot be so easily recognized in half-worn sculptures and sketch copies of lost originals, since fleeting glances and momentary arches of the brow cannot readily be caught in marble, and even if caught by the amazing skill of the Satavahana sculptors, it is not be expected that they would be preserved for two thousand years for our scrutiny. Bnt it is nevertheless certain that there is general indication of excellent *bhāva abhinaya* which is sustained by *anga abhinaya*.

CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES.

In the following catalogue, identified sculptures, are grouped firstly according to the period to which they belong (see above, pp. 26–32) and secondly, within each of the four periods, according to the scenes they represent (see list of contents at beginning of paper) Unidentified sculptures, most of them fragmentary, given on the same slab as an identified scene, are described along with it. The rest are included among the miscellaneous sculptures of each period.

I. FIRST PERIOD, c.a. 200–100 B.C.

A. Scenes from Buddha's Life.

I A, 1. *The Shooting Contest and other scenes* (pl. xvii, figs. 1, 2 and 3; also Burgess I, pl. xliv, fig, 4)—Octagonal pillar with lotus petals worked on top and rail pattern below. At the base, below the plain rail pattern, there is sculpture partly mutilated. It is probable that this may have formed at one time a large carved block as the lowest part which was sunk under the level of the pavement still shows portions of sculpture representing both human and animal figures.

The scene to the right shows a horse issuing from an arched gateway, mostly defaced; a man in front carries an umbrella; above are long wavy lines indicative of water and beneath the marginal line below indicative of the bank of the river is its name *Neranjara*; below this is a striped rectangular block with smaller and plain rectangular strip on it which is touched or handled by a turbaned man. A pensive woman and a danseuse are on the other side of the rectangular block.

To the left, beyond the damaged part, is a man standing beside a rectangalar block with small legs and a pillow-shaped thing arranged at one end, carried by four men opposite the entrance to a buiiding with rail pattern on top. The foreground shows trees.

The two panels on this pillar are very early carvings which were first identified by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his paper "Notes sur la sculpture Bouddhique" (pp. 244–247). According to him both represent the ceremonies attending Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. Even the scene showing a riderless horse issuing from an arched gateway, ordinarily suggesting Siddhartha's departure from Kapilavastu, as he was fully aware, he was able to interpret in such a manner as to suit this identification of the rest of the sculpture. He takes the gateway as that of Kusinara, Even the name of the river Neranjara carved in early Brahmi letters he interprets as suggestive of the abode of the nagas who came to adore the corpse of Buddha.

These panels were interpreted again by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran in Vol. x of Acta Orientalia, There he gives three alternative identifications for one of them, for all of which the name Neranjara served him as a clue: the Bodhisattva's washing of his hempen garment, Sujata feedlng the Bodhisattva, or the temptation of the Bodhisattva. In each of these tentative identifications the riderless horse near the gateway is taken to represent the departure of prince Siddhartha from Kapilavastu. The other panel he interprets as the shootihg contest, the rectangular board held by four men serving is a target.

The story of the Bodhisattva cleaning his hempen garment, a comparatively unimportant incident, given from the Lalitavistara is briefly this.—

The Bodhisattva was practising austerities for six years near the river Neranjara and was begging his food in the neighbouring village of Uruvilva. His russet garments were so tattered that he required to replace them by new ones. At that time a slave girl of Sujata named Radha died and her corpse wrapped in a hempen cloth was left in the graveyard. Thc Bodhisattva took the hempen cloth from the dead body, thereby winning the appreciation and wonder of the gods, who applauded the great prince for so setting an example of simplicity,

The Bodhisattva desired to clean it with water, and immediately the gods created a pond on the spot and Sakra caused a stone to appear so that he could wash the cloth on it. The Bodhisattva, in spite of Sakra's remonstrations urging him to allow him to wash the cloth for him, cleaned it himself, to set an example to his monks. But Mara caused the banks of the pond to rise and tired the Bodhisattva who, however, climbed them with the help of the tree goddess who bent her branches for him as support.

Mr. Ramachandran takes the striped rectangular block to be the pond with steps. The smaller block in it is the stone and the man beside it Sakra, The three women constitute a puzzle in this identification since they have no place here unless they are mourners for Radha, or one of them perhaps the tree-spirit. This explanation appears somewhat far-fetched, but no other seems possible.

The story of Sujata feeding Bodhisattva has been explained below (p. 253) and may be consulted. This identification does not suit the sculpture and Mr. Ramaehandran's explanation of the figures in connection with this scene cannot be accepted.

The story of the temptation by Mara is too well known to be repeated. But it has to be noted here that according to the Nidanakatha, the Bodhisattva on his way to the Bodhi tree received a handful of grass from a grass-cutter named Sotthiya (Svastika) spread it out on the seat beneath the tree, and sat on it with the firm determination of attaining enlightenment. " The blades of grass arrayed themselves in such a form as would be beyond the power of even the ablest painter or carver to design." Then Mara and his daughters tempted the Bodhisattva who overcame them and attained his goal.

But for the absence of the Bodhi tree Mr. Ramachandran feels that this scene answers beautifully to the temptation. Mara, his daughters and the seat with grass spread on it are all there. He says " even without the tree, the absence of which I am unable to account for, the scene can safely be taken to represent the temptation of Mara, as a study of the Abhinishkramana scene in the same carving makes it clear that only important events in the Buddha's life were contemplated here by the sculptor, Indeed the most important event after the Mahabhinishkramana is the temptation of Mara, which takes place in the Neranjara region ".

Mr. Ramachandran feels, however, that the sculpture answers better the washing of the hempen garment and says : " But the most satisfactory explanation of the details fonnd in the carving can be found in a minor event, *viz,*, the Boddhisattva washing the hempen garment. And if this scene were found elsewhere and was not placed by the side of (nay in the same panel as) the ' mahabhinishkramana', I should have no hesitation in identifying it in this way ".

Dr. Barnet Kempers who wrote subsequently on the same sculpture pleads for a single and definite identification of the subject. He believes that the river labelled Neranjara must have belonged to the scene above it (now lost) and that the inscription should therefore not be taken as a starting point for interpreting the scene below. And he suggests that the rest of the scene is not any of those previously suggested, but the one preceding the departure of the prince from Kapilavastu. Quoting from the Nidanakatha he says. " After his last drive through the city, the Bodhisattva, on entering his palace reclined on a couch of state. Thereupon women clad in beautiful array, skilled in dance and song, and lovely as heavenly virgins, brought their musical instruments, and ranging themselves in order, danced, and sang, and played delightfully. But the Bodhisattva, his head being estranged from sin, took no pleasure in the spectacle and fell asleep. The women lay down to sleep likewise. The Bodhisattva waking up and seeing the woeful change in their appearance became more and more disgusted with lust. Resolved in that very day to accomplish the Great Renunciation, he rose from his couch, went to the door and sent the charioteer Channa to saddle his horse. After this he went to the apartments of Rahula's mother but resolved not to take his son, and left the palace."

Dr. Barnet Kempers takes the women in the sculpture for the dancers who entertained the prince, the rectangular block for the couch, and the man beside it for Chandaka, the charioteer who brought the horse for the prince.

This identification cannot be held since the scene is placed after the departure of the prince, the horse in the departure scene coming out of the arched gateway towards the scene in question. Chandaka is, moreover, correctly shown beside the horse in the dress of a groom, but the man beside the rectangular block is in princely dress ; why the charioteer

should have changed his dress and why he should lay his hand on the couch is not clear. The vicinity of the river Neranjara whose name is clearly incised is not to be ignored, and I feel that Mr. Ramachandran is quite right in taking that as a clue for his identification.

The most probable identificatlon seems to me to be the temptation of the Bodhisattva by Mara and his daughters. The right hand of Mara resting on the rectangular seat and the left hand on his chest indicate that he is claiming the seat as his own and asking the Bodhisattva to vacate it.

The other scene is identified by Mr. Ramachandran as the shooting contest, the story of which according to the Lalitavistara is briefly this :—The father of Gopa desired to give his daughter to a prince who could prove his skill in learning and archery. There was therefore a contest held outside the city where all assembled to see the skill of the princes in all branches of learning. After a trial in various branches or learning, the princes placed an iron drum as target at distances varying to suit their respective degrees of skill in shooting. Ananda, Devadatta, Sundarananda, Dandapani and Siddhartha were the principai archers; and the last mentioned shot an arrow that pierced the centre of the target as also seven *tāla* (palm) trees beyond. He got for the purpose the mighty bow of Simhahanu that could be lifted by none and used it with ease. In the Abhinishkramana Sutra there is in addition the description of how the Sakya youths could cut only two or three *tāla* trees while Siddhartha cut through seven trees, and that so dexterously that they fell only when the devas raised a fierce wind and caused them to fall.

Mr. Ramachandran points out the dexterity of the sculptor who has indicated all the four targets is one rectangular board by showing Ananda, Devadatta, Sundarananda and Dandapani as holding it. Siddhartha is shown to the right, bow in hand, in the usual attitude of the archer with legs apart. The sword that he carries and the trees beneath the row suggest the cutting of the *tālas*. This identification of the scene which precedes the departure of the prince seems more satisfactory than that of Parinirvana which Dr. Kempers accepts.

The great interest provided by these two scenes is the presence in one of them of an inscription which is not merely donative but the name of one of the objects sculptured, the river Neranjara whose vicinity was the scene of some important doings of Buddha. It resembles the small labels on the Bharhut sculptures as for instance that giving the name *Sudhammā Indasabhā* where Siddhartha's turban is shown as being adored by the gods. Mr. Ramachandran has properly estimated the value of the small inscription Neranjara, previously overlooked, and has thus provided in the common tradition thus brought to light of labels to the scenes illustrated an additional connection between Satavahana art and the Sunga art of Bharhut. Mr. Ramachandran's paper is of outstanding importance and is a great contribution to the study of the Amaravati sculptures. It may here be noted that a further link

between Bharhut and early Amaravati art traditions is supplied by the short inscription incised above the turban of a yaksha which as I have pointed out (see above p. 82) must be read as Candamukha and interpreted as the name of the yaksha.

A fragment of another inscription *gamanam* as read by Mr. Ramachandran—is situated just below the archer gate. Dr. Kempers (p. 367, footnote) has given *(abhini) khamana,* suggested to him by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, as the reconstructed reading of the missing portion of the inscription.

For details of the inscriptions see below p. 273.

I A, 2. *The Conversion of the Jatilas* (pl. xiv, fig. 1).—Early fragment showing a number of men with matted hair adoring with joined hands a huge block with chequered lines arranged on it.

The sculpture may be identified as a representation of the conversion of the Jatilas headed by Uruvela Kassapa as given in the Mahavagga (i, p. 118-132, 1, 15) of the Vinayapitaka. The story is briefly this :—

By subjugating the savage naga in the room of the hermitage where the sacred fire was kept, Buddha won the admiration of the Jatila Uruvela Kassapa, who lived in Uruvela with his following of five hundred. Though his feelings towards Buddha stopped with admiration, he asked him to stay with him and promised to provide him with food. So Buddha lived in a grove in the vicinity of Kassapa's hermitage.

One night Kassapa observed the whole grove lit up with lustre of the four lokapalas who visited Buddha to pay him their respects and hear him preach. Another night Sakka, the king of gods, came to Buddha and again lit up the grove with the brilliancy of his complexion. Brahma Sahampati's visit illuminated the grove another night.

At that time Kassapa used to perform a great sacrifice which was attended by all the people of Anga and Magadha. Kassapa now felt that the presence of Buddha there would diminish the honour paid him. Buddha read his mind and departed to the far distant Uttarakuru country where he begged for alms, returning to Kassapa's grove after partaking of this food in heaven near the Anotatta lake. When Kassapa learnt from Buddha that he had read his thoughts and so departed, he wondered but still thought Buddha was not as holy as himself.

Buddha now desired one day to wash his robes and immediately Sakka himself dug a tank for him, creating at the same time a stone for rubbing the cloth. When the Master climbed up from the tank the deity of the neighbouring Kakuda tree bent a branch for him to hold. Kassapa saw this and marvelled ; yet he persisted in thinking that he was holier than Buddha.

One day Buddha brought from the continent of Jambudipa a fruit of the *jambū* tree after which that continent is named, and similarly another day he brought a *pārijātaka* flower from the Tavatimsa heaven. Once by his magical power he prevented the Jatilas from splitting the wood which they used for feeding their fire, their hatchets doing their work only when he permitted. And their fire similarly could burn only if Buddha so desired.

The Jatilas used to bathe repeatedly in the river Neranjara on cold winter nights between the *Ashtaka* festivals, so Buddha created five hundred vessels of fire to warm them. The Jatilas were then convinced of Buddha's powers but Kassapa still felt he was holier.

Finally a great rain fell out of season and there was water everywhere except where Buddha stayed. Buddha caused the water to recede and walked about in a dust-covered space. Kassapa now feared that Buddha might have been carried away by the water and hurried in a boat with his followers to rescue him. Buddha answered the Jatila's call by rising into the sky and descending into the boat. Kassapa still persisted in the thought of his own superiority. Buddha now turned round and made it clear to Kassapa that the latter was neither an *arhat* nor one following the path for arhatship. Jatila Uruvela Kassapa now prostrated himself before the Master and with his permission became his disciple with his entire following.

The sculpture shows a number of Jatilas with hands joined in adoration immediately after the miracle of the rain. They are convinced of the superior power of Buddha and are filled with admiration and devotion for him. The downpour is suggested by the many close parallel lines above them.

I A, 3. *The Story of Angulimāla* (Burgess 1, pl. xlviii, fig. 4, lower piece).—Freize of two panels within a richly worked rail pattern, a plinth decorated with running animals below, coping decorated with undulating flower garland above, scenes separated by groups of uprights with two lines of cross-bars decorated with lotus medallions.

The first panel shows a fierce man approaching with a sword, a flaming pillar surmounted by a trisula. A man is also kneeling near a pair of feet at the base of the pillar. A lady with a vessel on her head stands to the left of the pillar.

This may be identified (Coomaraswamy 15, explanation of pl. ii, fig. 9) as the story of Angulimala (see below, p. 192). The fierce man is Angulimala and the woman his mother whom he is trying to kill when Buddha (represented by the fiery pillar) intervenes. The person who attacks and the person who kneels are one and the same, the representation being synoptic. This scene is more graphically portrayed on the coping of the great rail (below, p. 191).

In the second panel a devotee is adorning Buddha in a pavilion, the presence of the Master being, however, suggested only by an empty throne. A furious person standing beside him is upbraiding him for it. I am unable to see what this scene represents. In the sunk band below there are five rectangular holes at intervals.

I A. 4. *Quarrel for the Relics of Buddha* (pl. xiv, figs. 2 & 3).—Early fragment with a sharp but crude early carving on both sides. On one side there is a border of animals to the left—lion, horse, and elephant in panels separated by pairs of curling leaves. Beside it are two larger panels separated by a row of geese carrying garlands in their beaks, only two being preserved. In the top panel a man stands holding up in his hand what appears to be a cloth. Beside him is seated another in mournful attitude. The legs of an animal may be seen at the left top corner. In the panel below is a three-storeyed building through the gateway of which issue three elephants each with a royal rider and a standard bearer. On the ground floor a princely person is shooting an arrow upwards. On the next floor women are playing musical instruments and a dancer (lost except for a hand and foot towards the broken end) is dancing. On the top floor there are men of princely appearance with arrows in their hands (only three are preserved). The slab is broken on all sides and the scenes are incomplete.

The lower of the two main scenes may be identified as the quarrel for the relics of Buddha. The story is narrated on p. 204. War is suggested by a prince using his bow. The music and dance are for celebrating the funeral of the Master. The standard held by a bearer on each of the elephants is that of the king who sits in front of him and holds a relic casket as well as *ankuśa* or goad. It is said in the Parinibbanasutta that the Mallas of Kusinara fortified their city with arrows all round. This is suggested by the arrows that are being arranged by men in the third storey.

The upper scene is too fragmentary to identify. On the back of this slab (pl. xiv, fig. 3) the top panel is lost except the legs of two women. Below this is an inscription, and lower down a broken panel at the top of which is a narrow strip showing rail pattern and roof with caitya windows at regular intervals, in each of which is a lady with hands raised together in adoration. On the roof are shown peacocks. Below this is garden where a man of princely appearance stands beside a tree. An umbrella is shown beside him and a fragment of a *vāmanikā* (dwarf) waving a chauri for him can also be distinguished. There are two ladies of noble appearance, one of whom waves a flywhisk beside another tree. The figure of the second lady is broken and mostly lost. There is a fragmentary inscription below. For details of the inscription on this slab see p. 273.

B. YAKSHAS AND OTHER FIGURES.

I B. 1. *Yaksha Candramukha* (pl. xvi, fig. 1).—Early fragment with a number of umbrellas arranged as they would be over a stupa (which is broken and lost). On a higher plane next to the umbrella is a horse-shoe shaped gable, with steeple surmounted by trisula, behind which is a tall dome built of brick suggested by lines incised on it. Above the dome are the branches of a tree. Beneath the horse-shoe gable is the figure of a person wearing

a handsome turban on his head and heavy ear-rings rubbing his cheeks. The portion below the neck is broken and missing. This represents an important yaksha Candramukha (see above, p. 82). There is an inscription within the arch above the turban for details of which see p. 273.

I B, 2. *Śrī* (pl. xv, fig. 3; also Burgess I, pl. xxviii, fig. 6).—Coping fragment showing a flower garland drawn out of a makara's mouth by a lady wearing striped drawers and star-shaped jewel on forehead seated on the calyx of a lotus flower. This has been identified by A. K. Coomaraswamy as representing Sri or Lakshmi and is thus the earliest representation of the goddess known from South India. The garland is supported by a quaint looking dwarf wearing a number of *śikhas* (topknot)—probably five—of which there can be seen and a *nīlotpala* or blue lily in his ear lobe. The suggestion of Dr. Burgess that he wears a close fitting cap with two tails sticking out of it appears improbable. The bight above is occupied by half lotus. The borders are of twisted cord, bells and petals above and lotuses below. For details of inscription on top see p. 273.

I B, 3. *Ganeśa-like Yaksha and another* (pl. xv, fig. 2; also Burgess I, pl. xxx, fig. 1).—Coping fragment with flower garland supported by two dwarfs one of whom is quite droll-looking with elephant's head without its proboscis and tusks; the figure as Coomaraswamy has pointed out is the earliest approach towards the form of Ganesa; the other figure which Dr. Burgess describes as an obese female—this is doubtful—is partly effaced. The intervals between the garland are as usual occupied by half lotuses. The upper border is as in the previous one but there are four-petaled flower below.

I B, 4. *Other Dwarfs from Coping* (Burgess I, pl. xxxi, fig. 3).—Coping fragment showing thick ornamental flower garland carried by a seated dwarf, the bight above having a half lotus with two concentric bands of petals. The top border is composed of twisted cord, bells and petals and the lower one of four-petaled flowers. The inscription above is incomplete. For details see p. 274.

I B, 5. (pl. xvii, fig. 4).—Coping fragment representing a flower garland carried by seated dwarf with pointed ears and uncouth face. The half lotus in the bight above and the borders are as in the previous one

I B, 6. (Burgess I, pl. xxix, fig. 3).—Coping fragment representing a big flower garland issuing from the mouth of a fat dwarf seated with his leg stretched and supported by another dwarf. At the dip of the roll is a shield with a couple of cranes on it and in the bights are half lotuses.

I B. 7. (Burgess xxix, fig. 1).—Coping fragment showing a garland of flowers carried by three dwarfs standing, seated and kneeling. The shield at every dip is decorated with two cranes and in each bight is a large lotus.

I B. 8. *Yakshī*.—Fragment with pillar showing the head and bust of a yakshi immediately below the pillar capital. The figure resembles the Bharhut and Jaggayyapeta yakshis and her hair is plaited and parted at the centre from where droops a ribbon with lotus designs on it.

I B. 9. *Yakshī beside Tree, Vṛkshakā* (pl. xvi, fig. 3).—Fragment showing part of a yakshi dryad—head, hand and breast against a tree; her left hand rests on the hip reminding us of the dryads on the Sanchi gateway. Her left headgear is noteworthy as it is unlike the usual types in the sculptures from Amaravati.

I B. 10. *Yaksha or Devotee* (see also below p. 264, pl. xviii, figs. 2 and 3; Burgess 1, pl. lii, fig. 9, upper part of sculpture only).—Large early standing figure broken into two pieces and joined together. The head and arms are broken, though the portion of hands over the chest which is preserved shows lotuses reverently held in them. The head is also unfortunately missing. The undergarment elaborately worked with folds and tassels, the waist band decorated with circular clasp and *ḍeḍḍubhaka* ends, the upper garment worn in the *yajñopavīta* fashion, the necklace with large square clasps (*phalakahāra*) are all interesting points of detail to be noted in the figure. The statue is of some important person or deity or a Buddhist devotee. Judging from the best preserved of the slabs with stupa representation on them, it may be a yaksha or guardian of a quarter, or a portrait of a devotee donor to the stupa carved so as to go on the sides of the ayaka platforms. There is an inscription of the lower garment of the figure. See p. 274 for details.

I B. 11. *Man and Boy* (pl. xviii, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl. li, fig. 2).—Large slab with sculpture showing a man and a boy standing on brick platform. The man wears a huge rich turban, heavy earrings, necklet with square clasps (*phalakahāra*), heavy bracelets, heavy jewelled waistband with *ḍeḍḍubhaka* ornamentation at the ends. His lower cloth (*antariya*) which stops above the knee is striped. He carries a pear-shaped jewelled purse in his left hand while his right hand rests on the head of the lad beside him. The boy wears heavy earrings, necklets, and a short undergarment and carries a bunch of lotuses in his left hand, the right hand resting on his hip. Of this slab Dr. Burgess remarks, "It will be seen at a glance how different is the style of sculpture from almost anything else, yet with close relations to that on the earliest sculptures." Regarding the turban and other details of dress he says, "the turban and heavy ear ornament of the man, his broad necklace and dhoti and loin cloth, are carefully treated, and belong to the style represented in cave x at Ajanta." (Burgess 1, p. 99.)

I B. 12. *Devotee* (Burgess 1, pl. xlix, fig. 4).—Early fragment showing a man (with turban almost destroyed) seated awkwardly with hands joined in adoration near a rectangular block with flowers incised on it. The foot of another devotee above, and the hand and headgear of yet another beside the first may be discerned.

I B, 13. *Two men and Swans* (pl. xiv, fig. 4).—Fragment showing two men, one wearing a turban, earrings, necklet, armlets, wristlets and elaborate clothing, and standing with a flower garland in his hand ; above him is the other soaring up as indicated by his bent leg. Beside this figure is part of lotus capital of pilaster almost completely lost. In the border below are two *rājahamsas* (royal swans), one of them with *mṛṇālaḍaṇḍa* or lotus stalks with flowers and buds in its beak.

I B, 14. *Kinnara* (pl. xvi, fig. 2).—Early fragments showing jewelled bell capital of pillar beneath which is a half medallion and part of an once complete medallion with fluted part between. The half lotus shows a kinnara carrying offerings and in the bit of medallion below is a parasol.

I B, 15. *Man carrying Lotus and Horseman* (pl. xiv, fig. 5).—Fragment-howing a series of vertical borders. To the right of the border or floral designs with alternating lotus discs there is a row of men, one below another standing on a rail. The top figure is broken above the knees. The man below has an elaborate turban, upper cloth, heavy girdle and lower cloth. He wears heavy earrings, necklets and bracelets and carries a lotus by its stalk. To his right there is row of diagonally radiating pear-shaped petals and lotuses and lower down is the mutilated figure of a man on horseback. The animal is richly caparisoned.

I B, 16. *Devotees in Frieze above Pilaster* (Burgess I, pl. liv, fig. 2).—Fragment of slab showing upper part of early type of pilaster with central jewelled medallion, fluted part and half lotus immediately below jewelled bell capital with winged lions on tripal abacus above ; this supports a long freize, broken to the right, composed of rail pattern with scenes at intervals. The worship of a stupa by two devotees (part of it is cut off and lost) and the adoration of an empty throne with feet on footrest under Bodhi tree by two worshippers with overflowing vessels in their hands are the two scenes preserved. The top border is of four-petaled flowers and the lower one of animals true and mythical ; in the sunk band below are rectangular holes, and on elevate band lower down is an incomplete inscription. For details see p. 274.

I B, 17. *Broken Frieze above Pilaster.*—Fragment showing a capital of winged animals, probably lions, supporting a frieze (now almost lost). Beside the capital there has been a scene of which the split remnant of an uplifted hand is preserved.

I B. 18. *Vṛkshacaitya* (pl. xv, fig. 1).—Slab showing a grand *vrkshacaitya* so built as to form a monastery or *vihāra* as well. Four stories are preserved in the fragment but the entire slab may have contained more stories. There are many caitya windows and doorways with similar arches above. The caitya vrksha is worshipped by two devas in the air flanking it with offerings in their hands.

C. FIGURES FROM PLINTH.

I C, 1. (Probably broken half of Burgess 1, pl. xxx, fig. 3).—Fragment from rail plinth showing the head of a bull and part of a dewlap. In style it resembles many such early figures given by Dr. Burgess (1, pl. xxix, fig. 2, pl. vxx, fig. 2, 3, 4, 5 and pl. xxxi, fig. 4).

I C, 2. Fragment from rail plinth showing an elephant (upper part is broken and lost) pulled by a man in front as may be seen from the position of his legs which are apart and aslant (the rest of the human figure is lost); the hind legs of a lion in front of them are also preserved.

I C, 3. (Burgess 1, pl. xxx, fig. 3.)—Fragment from rail plinth showing head of a gri ffin, a man standing holding a rope in his hand controlling a bull (the head is broken).

I C, 4. (Burgess 1, pl. xxx, fig. 2).—Fragment of rail plinth showing a bull with fore-legs raised and bent in the act of running. The upper and lower borders of foliage and beads respectively are well preserved.

I C, 5. (Burgess 1, pl. xxix, fig. 2).—Fragment of rail plinth with a bull running at great speed, a rope dangling from its horn to which it is tied. The hump is here prominent unlike as in the previous one. In front of it a man is running after a winged deer holding one of its hind legs. The borders are well preserved.

I C, 6. (Burgess 1, pl. xxxi, fig. 4).—Fragment of rail plinth with winged lion rushing forw ard and caught by the ear by a man in front. The borders are well preserved.

I C, 7. (Burgess 1, pl. xxx, fig. 4).—Fragment of rail plinth showing a man holding the tail of a winged lion (the forepart of the animal is lost).

I C, 8. (Pl. xvi, fig. 4; Burgess 1, pl. xxx. fig. 5).—Fragment of plinth of rail showing a man with legs apart tugging at the tail of a lion (the forepart of the animal is lost).

D. BUDDHAPADAS.

I D, 1. Portion of Buddhapada showing *svastika* and parts of *triśūla* and *dharmacakra* symbols.

I D, 2. (Burgess 1, pl. lii, fig. 8).—Large weather-worn slab injured at one and showing a huge pair of feet of the Master. Each foot is decorated in the centre with wheels sunk considerably. On the heel and near the toes are *triśūla* on wheel, empty throne, drum, *vajra, ankuśa, svastika* and other symbols. Similarly there are symbols at the ends of fingers and toes. The feet are worked in conventional style. The marks are the signs of the Masters' greatness (*mahāpurushalakshaṇas*).

I D, 3 (Burgess 1, pl. liii, fig. 1).—Slab cracked in the middle representing Buddhapadas with wheel mark in the centre, *śrīvatsa* flanked by svastika at the heel and *triśūla* on wheel and *śrīvatsa* on toes and fingers. Two standing devotees are shown on either side with hands joined in adoration.

I D, 4. (Burgess 1, pl. lii, fig. 6).—Small slab with indistinct border at edge showing feet of Buddha with wheel in centre prominently seen.

I D, 5. (Burgess 1, pl. xliii, fig. 14).—Fragmentary slab with Buddha's feet carved in stylised manner. The thousand-rayed wheels are shown in the centre with central boss and raised edge and border composed of *triśūlas* and wheels; just near the toes and feet which are decorated with *triśūla* on wheel are symbols like *makara*, banner, *pūrṇakalaśa*, *śrivatsa* and *svastika*. There is a sunk border below beside the feet all round (most of it is lost) showing creeper pattern. On one side of the raised rim of the border is an inscription. For details see p. 274.

E. Pilasters, Pillars, Trisulas and other miscellaneous Fragments.

I E, 1 *Pilaster Base and Swans* (Burgess 1, pl. xlix, fig. 8). – Early fragment showing a pilaster with bulbous base composed of double lotus, half lotus above and just the edge of the fluting; below the pilaster is a row of swans two of which are preserved, one carrying in its beak a garland and the other lotuses. Above and below the bird is a border of elongate beads.

I E, 2. *Triśūla, Arched Window and Pilaster Capital* (Rea 2, pl. xlvii, fig. 3).—Fragment with part of capital of pilaster with winged horses supporting a rail on two upturned half lotus medallions. Above the rail is an elaborately worked huge *triśūla* on a circular lotus medallion. The capital of the pillar is balanced on the right by an arched window above a rail balustrade.

I E, 3. *Pilaster Capital with Winged Bulls.*—Fragment with pilaster capital. The double animals on the capital are mutilated but from the horns and ears of one of them it is clear that they are winged bulls.

I E, 4. *Pilaster fragment with Elephants.*—Large fragment broken into four pieces with early pilaster having bell-shaped capital and crowned by elephants all mutilated and worn. This must have been one of the many large early casing slabs. There are a few letters of inscription beside the pilaster and a similar number of letters above the elephants. For details see p. 274.

I E, 5. *Pilaster fragment with Elephants.*—Tiny piece of slab showing elephants on top of a pilaster mutilated, with inscription above. See p. 274 for its details.

I E, 6. *Triśūlas* (Burgess 1, fig. 10, p. 47).—Fragment of *triśūla*. The disc below is broken and missing as also the tops of the three prongs of which the outer ones should have been forked into three at their tips. The central prong is sunk as at Sanchi and is a fresh continuation from a less prominent point.

I E, 7. Fragment of *Triśūla* showing circular disc below and the base of the prongs above. On the back is narrow plain rail pattern and jewelled handle (perhaps the chauri or umbrella) above it.

I E, 8. *Octagonal Pillar* (pl. xvi, fig. 5; Rae 2, pl. xlvii fig. 1).—Early octagonal pillar with bell-shaped top and bottom on shaft and capital showing riders on elephants two on each side back to back. The elephants have rich trappings and are shown kneeling.

I E. 9. *Bulbous Base of Pillar* (Burgess 1, fig. 25, p. 87).—Large ornamented bulbous base or top of pillar. The bulbous portion here is not so flattened as in the previous or the next one. Spiral lines, zig-zag patterns, lotus petals and four-petaled flower are the decorations carved on this.

I E, 10. *Other Fragments* (Figured in Burgess 1, pl. liv, fig. 5).—Fragment showing portion of naga's hood and a curious club-shaped object beside it.

I E, 11. Fragment with border composed of floral design and swans. Below the border are just the ear and mane of a mythical animal like a griffin.

I E, 12. Fragment of a slab showing a cluster of umbrellas usually represented over stupas.

I E, 13. Fragment with inscription for details of which see p. 275.

F. Uprights mostly with Inscriptions.

I F, 1. (pl. xxiv, fig. 2) Fragment of upright from an older and plainer rail or perhaps from the rail around the *harmikā* as it is carved only on one side and is of small size. There is very little of ornamentation on it. The uninjured part of it shows a half disc and three flutes. On its sides are holes for taking the cross-bars.

I F, 2. (pl. xxiv, fig. 2) Fragment of upright similar to the previous one broken into two pieces (cemented together).

I F, 3. Fragment of plain rail pillar with lenticular mortices for taking the cross-bars. There is a line inscribed on the surface. For its details see p. 275.

I F, 4. Fragment of upright with inscription. For details see p. 275.

I F, 5. Fragment of upright with inscription. See p. 275 for details.

I F, 6. Fragment of upright with inscription. For details see p. 275.

I F, 7. Fragment of upright with inscription. For details see p. 275.

I F, 8. Fragment of upright with inscription. For details see p, 276.

I F, 9. Fragment of upright with inscription. For details see p. 276.

I F, 10. Fragment of upright with inscription. For details see p. 276.

G. Cross-bars mostly with Inscriptions.

I G, 1. (pl. xxiv, fig. 2) Plain cross-bar of older rail or perhaps of the rail of the *harmika* fixed in the holes in I F, 1 and I F, 2. It is oblong in shape and in section it is shaped like a figure formed by two arcs cutting each other, *i.e.* lenticular.

I G, 2. (pl xxiv, fig. 2) Similar cross-bar fixed to I F, 1 and I F, 2.

I G, 3. Cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 276.

I G, 4. Cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 276.

I G, 5. Cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 276.

I G, 6. Cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 276.

I G, 7. Fragment of cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 276.

I G, 8. Cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 277.

I G, 9. Fragment of cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 277.

I G, 10. Fragment of cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 277.

I G, 11. Cross-bar with two letters incised on it. For details see p. 277.

I G, 12. Cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 277.

I G, 13. Fragment of cross-bar with inscription. For details see p. 277.

II. SECOND PERIOD c.a. 100 A. D.

A. Scenes from Buddha's Life

II A, 1. *The Dream of Māyā of her Bath in Water from Anotatta Lake* (pl. xxiv, fig. 3; also Rea 2, pl. xlviii, fig. 3).—Small slab with carving in the front and on one side. The carving in low relief on the side represents a fat dwarf atlantis holding up the top border. The panel on the front shows five women with water jars attending on a lady in the centre, standing at ease softly stroking her hair—she is taking a bath and arranging her toilet. The scene is laid in sylvan surroundings, as can be inferred from the trees shown in the panel.

This sculpture may be identified as representing one of the dreams of Māyā just before she conceived Buddha. Mahamaya (Hardy p. 144) bathed and adorned herself on the last day of a festival celebrated annually in the city of Kapilavastu, and reclined on her couch. She then dreamt that the devas of the four quarters carried her as she lay on the couch which they finally placed on a rock beneath a Sal tree in the Himalayas. They then withdrew to a

respectful distance. Their queens now took their places and brought water from the lake Anotatta to bathe her. After the bath they made her wear the most magnificent cloth and perfumed her with divine perfume. The devas now conducted her to a golden palace on a silvery rock and placed her on a divine couch. While she reposed on that bed the Bodhisattva appeared with a lotus in his hand, thrice circumambulated his future mother, and entered her womb.

The central figure in the carving, softly dressing her hair is Mahamaya. The four other women standing about her holding vessels of water are the wives of the four devas. The lake Anotatta is shown by a suggestion of water and by lilies. A lady is filling a vessel from the lake. It is perhaps the same woman who is shown again beside Mahamaya. This kind of synoptic representation where the same person appears more than once in one piece of sculpture was a device not unfamiliar to the Amaravati sculptor. The Sal tree which is described as a hundred miles high is also carved here ; but the staggering height which is impossible of portrayal in sculpture limited to a panel of definite dimensions is for obvious reasons ignored. The water of lake Anotatta is very famous in Buddhist legends and there is a thrilling story of how a seven-year old novice subdued a terrible nagaraja and brought water from the lake to bathe the feet of Buddha. The scene portrayed in this sculpture being concerned mainly with the bath of Maya in the water from lake Anotatta, the synoptic method of representation by showing first a woman filling a vessel with water from the lake and representing her again beside Mayadevi is easily understood. Repetition of all four wives of the gods near the lake is unnecessary.

II A. 2. *The Temptation* (Burgess 1, pl. xlvi, fig. 2).—Large mutilated slab with two panels, the upper one mostly broken off and the lower one mutilated towards the bottom right. The small portion of the upper panel shows an empty throne flanked by deer and with a kneeling worshipper to the right. The rest of the sculpture, including the *cakra*, is lost. The lower panel shows Buddha seated on a raised seat under a Bodhi tree with his right hand in the *abhaya* pose. There is an aureole behind his head and his face beams with delight. A prince-like deva is seated to the right of Buddha and immediately above is a dwarf threatening him with a sword or club. The dwarf appears again to the left of the Master, this time with hands clasped in adoration and beside him stands a lovely woman revealing her charms. This is "a 'brief account' in sculpture of the temptation" (Burgess 1, p. 90). To the left of the panel is a vertical rail pillar pattern border. Between the upper and lower panels and at the bottom are borders with inscription (see p. 277).

II A. 3. *Buddha and Nagas* (pl. xxii, fig. 1 ; also Burgess 1, pl. xlviii, fig. 3).—Large slab, broken above on left, showing nimbate Buddha seated on a low seat with his hands in *abhaya* attitude preaching to a nagaraja and nagini on either side of him. The nagaraja to his left has joined his hands in adoration, a nagini admires, and a deva flutters above with

offerings. The nagini to his right kneels with her hands joined in adoration, but the image of the nagaraja beside her is broken and lost as also the deva above him. To the right is a border with rail pillar pattern.

II A, 4, 5 and 6. *Siddhārtha's Departure, the Temptation, and the attempted Opening of the Rāmāgrāmā Stupa* (text fig. 5, and pl. xix, figs. 1 a, b and c. See also Fergusson pl. xcviii and Burgess I, pl. xli, fig. 2).—Large slab much broken above. The bottom panel (fig. 1 a), immediately above a railing pattern border shows a horse issuing from a gateway, preceded by a couple of devas flying just above the ground and a similar number in the air above (these two figures are broken). An umbrella is held above the horse by a chatradhara. The scene represents prince Siddhartha's departure from Kapilavastu. There is a mansion beyond the gateway. Immediately above is a row of running lions (only two are preserved). Of the second panel the legs of a standing and a kneeling woman are alone intact towards the left end. Many other pieces, all but two of them now lost (see pl. xix) belonged to this, which is part of a huge slab. In its complete form it was sketched by Col. Mackenzie's artist (Fergusson, pl. xcviii; Burgess I, pl. xli, fig. 2).

Fig. 5 (after Fergusson). Casing slab illustrating the Departure of Siddhartha from Kapilavastu, the Temptation and the attempt at Opening Ramagrama Stupa.

The second fragment shows in its lower panel portions of figures of three women, two standing and one kneeling, and of a celestial being hovering above. Between this and the top panel is part of a border of geese. In the top panel a lady wearing heavy bangles on her legs with her hands in adoration (the portion above the shoulder is lost) stands beside a nagaraja (now mutilated and lost except for the leg.)

The third fragment shows two diggers, much worn. The panel to which this fragment belongs has been identified by Dr. Vogel (2, p. 286) as representing the attempt of Asoka at opening the Rāmāgrāma stupa. Two nagarajas with their wives are adoring the stupa and it is their intervention that prevents the workmen digging at the base of the stupa from fulfilling their purpose.

II A. 7. *Rāmagrāma Stupa.*—Fragment with the representation of snakes coiling round a stupa. At the base of tha stupa (mostly broken) is a wooden rail above which are pillars with animals on their capital as in the caves at Nasik, Karle, etc. (three pillars are preserved) supporting another railing above. The dome of the stupa is encircled by snakes of which one has three hoods and another a larger number—probably five (the portion beyond the third is broken). This is obviously the nagas guarding the Rāmagrāma stupa.

II A. 8. *Casing Slabs with symbolic Representation of Principal Scenes from Buddha's life.*—Weathered fragment of stupa casing showing a man and woman carrying offerings in vessels and standing to the right of a Bodhi tree a part of whose foliage alone is preserved. The hand of the man with the vessel is broken. A celestial being is flying in the air above the couple carrying a tray with offerings. There is an inscription on top. For details of this see p. 278.

II A. 9. Large slab showing Bodhi tree and empty throne on either side of which stand a man and woman of rank, all the four carrying vessels full of water. Devas flutter above carrying offerings, one on each side. There is a border of running lions at the top of this panel. To the right is a border with rail pillar pattern. Below the panel is a faint weather-worn inscription. For details see p. 278.

II A. 10. (pl. xxi, fig. 1; also Burgess 1. pl. xlvii, fig. 3).—Large slab broken at the top showing the lower panel and part of the upper one. In the lower panel, two noble looking men, one on either side of a Bodhi tree with empty throne below, hold up one a banner and the other a double umbrella. Beside each stands a woman obviously his wife, with her hands joined in adoration. A deva flutters on either side above with offerings in his hands. Between the panels is a border of running animals (lion, horse and bull) and the border to the right is decorated with rail pillar ornamentation. Below the lower panel is a weather-worn inscription. For details see p. 279.

II A, 11. (Burgess 1, pl. xlviii, fig. 1).—Large weathered slab with two panels. In the lower panel a Bodhi tree is adored by royal looking persons, standing two on either side with vessels of water, one of them actually draining the contents of the vessel. On either side is a deva hovering above with offerings in his hands. The top panel (cracked across) showing the worship of *Dharmacakra* placed on pillar behind empty throne and adored by three devotees on either side, to princely figures seated with hands joined in adoration and a fluttering figure of a deva above carrying offerings. The panels are separated by a border decorated with square and circular patterns. The border to the right is carved in the fashion of a rail upright. Below the lower panel is an inscription. For details see p. 279.

II A, 12. (pl. xx, fig. 1 and 2; also Burgess pl. xlvi. fig. 1).—Large slab showing two panels. The lower panel which is separated from the top panel by a border decorated with flowers, zigzags and half-flowers shows Buddha, nimbate, seated under a Bodhi tree and

adored by two seated noble worshippers, and a flying deva above with offerings on either side. The subject of the top one is the worship of the wheel on pillar behind the empty throne by two seated noble-looking devotees and the deva with offerings above on each side. At the right end there is a strip of border with rail pillar pattern. Below the lower panel is an inscription. For details of it see p. 279.

II A, 13. Large slab with two panels separated by a border of running lions. In the lower panel a royal-looking couple on either side of a Bodhi tree carry over-flowing vessels one of which is emptied by the man to the left. The legs of the pair to the right are injured. A deva with offerings flutters above on either side. The top panel shows the adoration of wheel on pillar behind an empty throne, three noble worshippers on each side, one seated with hands joined in adoration, a second standing waving flywhisk and the third a deva flying above with offerings in his hands. At the right end is a border with rail-pillar pattern. Beneath the panel is a fragmentary inscription, as the part on the right is broken and missing For details of inscription see p. 280.

II A, 14. Weathered fragment of stupa casing showing two panels of which the top one is badly mutilated. In the panel below is a throne and flaming pillar surmounted by *triśūlas* on wheel beneath the Bodhi tree, with a royal couple carrying vessels and trays full of offerings on either side. The face of the queen to the left is multilated. A deva approaches flying from either side with offerings in a tray. All that is left in the top panel is an empty throne with two circular cushions, foot-rest below and the feet of worshippers on either side. At the right end is a border carved like a rail pilaster with alternating lotus medallions and fluted parts. Between the two panels is an inscription, badly weathered and almost illegible. For details see p. 280.

II A, 15. Large slab showing *Dharmacakra* on a pillar behind empty throne adored by two noble looking devotees on each side, one standing waving a flywhisk and another seated with hands joined in reverence. A deva hovers above on either side with offerings. The head of the deva to the right is injured. To the right of the slab is a border shaped after a rail pillar. Beneath the panel is an inscription faint and weather-worn. For details see p. 280.

II A, 16. (Burgess I, pl. xlvi, fig. 4).—Large slab, broken at the top, showing a stupa adored by seated devotees and flying devas one of each on either side. Umbrellas proceed sideways from above the stupa. The border to the right is injured. There should once have been an inscription at the lower end of the slab which is broken and damaged except for two incised lines that warrant the conjecture.

II A, 17. Large multilated slab showing stupa adored by a kneeling worshipper on either side, a deva with offerings flying above each. All the figures are multilated, especially those to the right. Above the panel is a row of animals of which only part of a single lion is preserved.

II A, 18. (Burgess I, pl. xlvii, fig. 4)—Large slab with a panel showing stupa adored by a devotee seated on either side and devas with offerings fluttering above. The panel is surmounted by three lions and three *triśūlas*. The two top rows and the panel are separated by borders of four-petaled flowers and to the right of the panel is a border decorated with lotuses.

II A, 19. Large slab, mutilated below, showing top of stupa adored by devas one of whom is mutilated, and above, three *triśūlas* and three lions. The portion containing the kneeling worshippers on either side of the stupa is lost.

II A, 20. (pl. xxi, fig. 2; also Burgess I, pl. xlviii, fig. 2).—Large weather-worn slab with a panel showing stupa adored by two worshippers on either side, a kneeling devotee and a deva fluttering above, surmounted by two rows, first a row of three lions and above it three *triśūlas* on *Dharmacakra* over a seat with double curved legs. Between the rows of *triśūlas* and lions and above and below the panel are decorated borders. To the right of the panel is a border which is a rail-pillar pattern composed of lotus medallions and fluted parts. There are bores in the wheels below the *triśūlas* probably for fixing the slabs to the stupa by means of iron rods passed through them, pieces of which are still intact.

B. LIONS, TRISŪLAS AND NĀGA.

II B, 1. Slab with two lions and boar in a line running in great haste above a rail pattern.

II B, 2. Fragment of casing showing a running lion whose usual place is below *triśūlas*.

II B, 3. Fragment cracked into two, probably from the casing of the stupa drum, representing a running lion from a row of such animals.

II B, 4. Fragment of slab showing three lions running in a row, above rail pattern.

II B, 5. (pl. xxii, fig. 3).—Fragment from stupa casing with three *triśūlas* (the last one is mutilated) over wheel on pedestal with arched legs. Beneath these is a border of undulating creeper; lower down are three lions running at great speed over at border composed of squares filled with flower and line patterns.

II B, 6. Slab with three *triśūlas* representing the Buddhist *triratna* mounted on *Dharmacakra*. There is a border below of four-petaled flowers.

II B, 7. (pl. xxii, fig. 2).—Large weathered fragment of stupa casing with top row of three lions over a border of four-petaled flowers. Below this are two dwarf yakshas carrying a long pole with gong attached which they sound. Lower down flying in the air and with hands joined in reverence are four monks (the slab is broken here and the figures of the lower pair are mutilated).

II B. 8. Five-hooded naga in three parts. It is one of the large-sized originals of the five-headed coiled snakes on the casing slabs occurring in the miniature representation of the stupa. A fragment that ought to come immediately below the two top ones makes one wonder whether the bottom piece really belongs to this group. But it really does. The bottom piece shows lotuses that indicate a lake—the home of the naga.

C. Overflowing Vases and miscellaneous Fragments from Stupa casing.

II C, 1. Fragment showing richly decorated vase partly mutilated near the neck and right edge, encased below by wavy pattern above a rest with a fruit on either side shaped like pineapple. There is an inscription at the bottom. For details see p. 281.

II C, 2. Large slab, with bottom left and top right mutilated, showing richly decorated vase like the previous one from whose mouth issue lotuses and fruits shaped like pineapple. There are three fully blossomed lotuses; and of the two pairs of half-blossomed lotuses and buds the pair to the left alone is preserved. The decoration on the vase consists of ornamental chains with circular medallions at intervals and tassels below. A ring of petals adorns the base of the neck.

II C, 3. (pl. xxiii. fig. 1; also Burgess I, pl. xlvii. fig. 2)—Large slab showing richly ornamented vase from whose mouth issue blossoming lotuses, buds and fruits. The border to the right is decorated with wavy curves with circular flowers at regular intervals. Below the vase is an inscription. For details see p. 281.

II C, 4. Large slab, mutilated at the top, showing decorated vase with lotuses. The portion containing the neck and lotuses is lost. The border to the right is composed of many patterns with circular flowers at regular intervals.

II C, 5. Large slab, cracked in the middle, with vase filled with lotuses. The border at the right end is a pattern of lotuses. The left end of the bottom is broken and lost and in the bit that remains intact towards the right is a fragment of an inscription. For details see p. 281.

II C, 6. Large slab, mutilated towards lower right, showing ornamental vase full of lotuses, buds and fruits. To the right is a decorated strip. Below the vase there is a bit of inscription preserved towards the left in the uninjured portion. For details of this see p. 282.

II C, 7. Large slab showing similar ornamental vase full of lotuses, buds and fruits. The border to the right is decorated with lotuses.

II C, 8. (Burgess I. pl xlviii, fig. ? 1).—Large slab with ornamental vase full of lotuses, buds and fruits.

II C, 9. Fragment of early casing slab showing part of base of overflowing vase full of lotuses with inscription below. For details see p. 282.

II C, 10. Fragment of early casing slab showing part of base of overflowing vase as in the former. For details of inscription below see p. 282.

II. C, 11. Similar fragment with inscription. For details see p. 282.

II. C, 12. Lower fragment of early casing slab showing the feet of a man and three women, the latter with heavy anklets standing above railing pattern at top of which is an inscription. For details see p. 282.

II C, 13. Casing slab of the series above the *āyāka* platform like the previous ones showing legs of a female devotee. For details of inscription see p. 283.

D. Yakshas and other Sculptures.

II D, 1. Slab showing dwarfish yaksha dancing with left leg raised almost in *ūrdhvajānu* pose. His right hand is in *recita* and the left is in *latā* position. His curly hair is tied in a knot over his forehead. The crossbelt on his chest and the flowing cloth he wears are noteworthy.

II D, 2. Similar dwarfish yaksha dancing in ecstasy with the left leg completely folded. Both the hands are in *ākshepa* and held in *patāka hasta*. The *yajñapavīta* flows across his chest.

II D, 3. Dwarf, with hair arranged in five balls clustering round his forehead, wearing heavy earrings, and military crossbands, carrying on his head a figure of some yaksha of which a foot is all that is left.

II D, 4. (Burgess I, pl. liii, fig. 2).—Headless image of seated worshipper wearing heavy earrings, armlets and bracelets and thick waist cord. Dr. Burgess thinks that it probably represents some benefactor to the shrine.

II D, 5. (pl. xix, fig. 3; also Burgess I, pl. liv, fig. 1).—Carved pillar with top broken. At either end is a border with creeper design. The bottom panel shows a dwarf atlantis seated and supporting a big vase. The tassels of the dwarf's garment, his heavy earrings, the five circular knots on his head and his armlets and wristlets are noteworthy. The vase is gaily decorated, and at its base is a wavy pattern. From its mouth issues a lotus stalk which encircles panels formed by its curvilinear course, the interspaces being filled with lotuses and leaves. The first panel shows two beaked lions facing opposite directions and higher are the empty throne and feet on foot-rest, adored by a seated worshipper on either side, mutilated above the waist.

II D, 6. Recarved early cross-bar showing on one side a dwarf yaksha wearing turban and *channavīra* dancing with right leg raised as in the *bhujangatrāsita* fashion and mutilated lotus in full bloom on the other,

II D, 7. (pl. xix, fig. 2).—Small fragment of frieze showing a dwarf fondling and feeding a curious animal with stag's horns and lion's face beside which is seated an animal with similar horns, only one of which is visible (the other horn and the face are lost).

II D, 8. (pl. xxiii, fig. 2; also Burgess I, pl. li, fig 4).—Fragment cracked into two towards the right showing mutilated figure of man of rank, perhaps a king (mutilated above the shoulder) and two women, evidently his queens (mutilated above the waist), standing on a platform decorated with rail pattern. The apparel is striped and transparent, its texture being suggested by working it closely on the body, but the tassels are heavy and elaborate as also the waist zone. The bracelets of the man are nearly as heavy as the anklets worn by the women. Though draped the women are yet essentially nude as in Kushan sculptures from Mathura. Of this slab Burgess says, "from inscriptions on other slabs of the same type we infer that they belong to the same age as the large slabs carved with the Bauddha emblems. From the resemblance of this to what we find on the front screen walls at Kanheri and Karle, we might suppose that they belong to the base of the stupa near the gates." (Burgess I, p. 95).

E. Miscellaneous, Pillars, etc.

II E, 1. Fragment showing part of a building from whose caitya window above a rail balustrade peeps out a woman's face. Lower down is an empty throne badly mutilated.

II E, 2. (pl. xxiv, fig. 1).—Fragment showing building with horse-shoe shaped gables and wooden railings consisting of cross-bars upright and coping. Two women, whose faces are mutilated and chipped out of recognition, are at the top of the terrace.

II F, 3. Fragment showing a building of which two pillars, part of wooden railing on the terrace and portions of horse-shoe shaped gables are alone intact.

II E, 4. (Burgess I, pl. xlii, fig. 8 wrongly given as 7).—Fragment showing a building with wooden railing and horse-shoe shaped gable with thick tall finials. About this Burgess says, and he is quite right in that, "it would be difficult to say from what part of the building the fragment has come." "Northing else of the kind" he continues "has been found at Amaravati. It is much more like the style of the facades of the earliest cave temples, at Pithalkora, Bhaja, the Chaitya at Nasik and cave ix at Ajanta, than anything of later day; and it may have formed part of some earlier structure here. The few characters upon it are of an early type." (Burgess I, p. 83). For details of this inscription which is at the top see p. 283.

II E, 5. (Burgess I, pl. xlv, figs. 1 to 4).—Lower fragment of pillar carved on all four sides in low relief. On one side is a stupa on lotus petals, with dome issuing above a narrow strip of railing and crowned with an army of parasols. Over this, as on all other sides, there is a narrow border of lotuses above which is a half lotus. Proceeding clockwise, on the side

next to this, is a wheel crowned with umbrella on pillar behind an empty throne. On the third side there is a caitya, a circular pavilion supported by pillars, with a relic casket in it. On the dome of the pavilion is a strip of low railing. Over the casket is an umbrella just touching a canopy above. On the fourth side is a Bodhi tree with empty throne and foot prints beneath it. On the side described first is an inscription. For details see p. 283.

II E, 6 & 7. Large rectangular slab cut in three definite steps of descending order. It forms the top of pillar at the extreme end of the entrance for taking the seated lion as shown in the miniature representation of stupa. There is an inscription on the topmost step. For details see p. 283.

Similar rectangular slab, continuation of the former and hence part of it. There is a circular hole between both to take the shaft of the pillar to come beneath it. There is an inscription on the topmost strip. For details see p. 283.

II E, 8. Stepped square abacus or base of pillar with three steps and circular groove for shaft.

II E, 9. Bulbous base or top of pillar to be fixed above or below the stepped block.

II E, 10. Similar bulbous part of pillar, slightly bigger in size.

II E, 11. Bulbous base or top of pillar.

II E, 12. Bulbous base or top of pillar.

II E, 13. Octagonal block with caitya window arch on four sides and rail pattern below. This is the finial of one of the five *āyaka* pillars on the *vedikā* of the stupa facing each entrance as suggested by Dr. Burgess (1, p. 87).

II E, 14. (Burgess 1, pl. xliv, fig. 5).—Octagonal block forming the finial of *āyaka* pillars, broken on one side, with caitya window over rail pattern on the four sides and female bust in each. The circular arrangement of hair above forehead of these feminine faces closely resembles the Mathura style (Kushan).

II E, 15. (pl. xxiv, fig. 4; also Burgess 1, pl. xliv, fig. 1).—Cakra pillar with top including cakra broken. At the bottom is the empty throne worshipped by two men on either side. Higher up are the foreparts of three elephants with a rider on each of them devoutly holding his hands in *añjali* just touching reliquaries placed in front of them and in their custody. Two men, one on either side, wave fly-whisks. Above the three men on elephant is a series of fluted bulbous capitals supported by lions and dwarfs, with riders on horses and lions on either side of and moving away from them, one above the other in a line. Fat dwarf caryatids are carved between one prancing animal and another.

II E, 16. Fragment showing part of two steps and a lotus bud with a little of its stem within two borders of the sculpture.

II E, 17. Small slab with *pūrṇaghaṭa* full of lotuses in the vertical border to the left, and half-lotus medallion running sideways to the right.

II E, 18. Fragment showing parts of lotus discs above a straight band below which are three human figures of early workmanship, sadly mutilated and broken.

II E, 19. Worn fragment showing two animals running, one with head broken with foliage worked in between them. As Mr. Ramachandran points out the style of this and the carving figured by Dr. Burgess in pl. xxxi, fig. 2 appears the same. Dr. Burgess takes the latter to be an early one which it may not be.

II E, 20. (Burgess I, pl. xiv, fig. 6).—Fragment showing a large stupa shaded by Bodhi tree as by an umbrella ; beneath this are three small stupas and lower down the upper part of a small lotus medallion.

II E, 21. Fragment of arched border of moonstone near entrance to the stupa showing men daring animals—a bnll and lion are shown here. This is similar to the one figured by Burgess (I, pl. xxxi, fig. 2).

II E, 22. Fragment of coping with inscription. For details see p. 284.

II E, 23. Fragment of coping with inscription, For details see p. 284.

II E, 24. Fragment of coping with inscription. For details see p. 284.

II E, 25. Fragment of coping with inscription. For details see p. 284.

II E, 26. Fragment of coping with inscription. For details see p. 285.

II E, 27. (Burgess I, pl. xxxi, No. I).—Early coping piece showing two seated dwarfs carrying a flower garland. On the back is an inscription. For details see p. 285.

II E, 28. Piece of upright with inscription. For details see p. 285.

II E, 29. Lower fragment of octagonal pillar, broad but not very thick. There is a long inscription covering the entire length of the pillar part of which is however lost along with the top of the pillar. For details see p. 285.

II E, 30. Fragment showing half-lotus with incomplete inscription above. For details see p. 288.

II E, 31. Fragment showing lotus medallion above flutes on one side. The back is rough and unworked with just a curve incised towards a broken end. On one of the sides is an incomplete inscription. For details see p. 289.

II E, 32. Fragment in two parts showing flutes and part of lotus medallion in each part on one side with inscription on one of the sides. For details see p. 289.

III. THIRD PERIOD c.a. 150 A.D.

A. Scenes from Buddha's Life.

III A. *Boddhisattva's Descent as a White Elephant* (pl. xxx, fig. 1; Burgess pl. xi, fig. 1 & pl. x, fig. 3).—Upper part of rail pillar showing half lotus below a border of foliage issuing from mouths of terminal dwarfs with animals interworked in it. The half disc which has a fine border shows the bodhi tree with feet under it adored by seated and prostrating men of noble aspect. Below this are three flutes; in the central one dwarfs carry an elephant in a palanquin and other devas wave the chauri and hold the umbrella aloft; in the other two panels some more devas are shown flying along waving chauries, carrying banners and offerings, dancing merrily and joining their hands in adoration.

Dr. Burgess (1. pp. 34-35 identifies and explains the sculpture in the flutes thus. "It represents the Bodhisattva or future Buddha descending from the Tushita heaven to be born of Maya, the consort of Suddhodana. 'Without being touched', says the Lalitavistara, 'a hundred myriad instruments, divine and human, sent forth ravishing melody. Hundreds of myriads of Devas with their hands, shoulders, and heads bore the grand divine car. A hundred thousand Apsaras led the choirs of music, and proceeding behind, before, on right and left, praised the Bodhisattva with their songs and concerts.' The future Buddha descended as 'pure white six-tusked elephant, with rose-coloured head, having teeth like a line of gold, and all his members and their parts with his organs without any imperfection,' and entered into the side of his mother Maya. This is taking literally what most ot the earlier legends represent only as a dream; but it illustrates the mode of the growth of the legendary history of Gautama."

On the back there is the half-lotus and above it four elephants, two on either side of a Bodhi tree, above it.

III A, 2. *Dream of Māya and its Interpretation* (pl. 1, fig. 2; Burgess 1, pl, xxviii, fig. 1).—Coping piece broken to where the scene shows a king seated on a throne with his queen on a seat beside him attended by women with chauries in their hands and questioning others seated to his left. To the left is a royal lady on a couch guarded by four attendant men and women.

Ot the two scenes in this piece of coping the first is as Dr. Burgess (1, p. 64) has identified the dream of Maya of the descent of the Bodhisattva as a white elephant entering her womb. The next one, however, is not as he says intended to represent Mayadevi requesting her royal husband to permit her to give herself to seclusion and devotion before the conception of Gautama (*loc, cit.* p. 64). It is clearly the prediction of the astrologers as Coomaraswamy (9, p. 75) has identified a similar but different slab (though the part showing this

is here broken and lost) as may be judged from other similar slabs with identical scenes (Burgess I, pl. xxxii, fig. 2 & Coomaraswamy 9, fig. 7 facing p. 74) where the astrologers hold up two fingers to indicate the two possibilities of the prince's future.

The story of the dream and the interpretation as given in the Nidadanakatha (p. 63) may be quoted :—

" Then the future Buddha who had become a superb white elephant, and was wandering on the Golden Hill, not far from there, descended thence, and ascending the Silver Hill, approached from the north. Holding in his silvery trunk a white lotus flower, and uttering a far-reaching cry, he entered the golden mansion, and there doing obeisance to his mother's couch, he gently struck her right side and seemed to enter her womb.

" Thus he was conceived at the end of the Midsummer festival. And the next day, having awoke from sleep she related the dream to the raja. The raja had sixty-four eminent Brahmans summoned, and had costly seats spread on a spot made ready for the state occasion with green leaves and dalbergia flowers, and he had vessels of gold and silver filled with delicate milk-rice compounded with ghee and sweet honey, and covered with gold and silver bowls. This food he gave them and he satisfied them with gifts of new garments and cf tawny cows. And when he had thus satisfied their every desire, he had the dream told to them, and then he asked them 'What will come of it ?

" The Brahmans said, 'Be not anxious O king ! Your queen has conceived ; and the fruit of her womb will be a man-child ; it will not be a woman-child. You will have a son. And he, if he adopts a householder's life, will become a king, a Universal Monarch ; but if leaving his home, he adopts the religious life, he will become a Buddha, who will remove from the world the veils of ignorance and sin.' "

Mayadevi is here seated beside the king as described in the story and the Brahmans are shown fed in better preserved sculptures depicting this scene in the British Museum (Fergusson pl. lxv, fig. 3). And they each hold up two fingers, to suggest the two possibilities of the prince's future.

On the back is the usual flower garland carried by two beautiful turbaned youths and the bights show the worship of the wheel above the empty throne and of the stupa. At one point on the garland is a square shield with four conches arranged in it and similarly double makara head back to back with gaping mouth through which the garland seems to pass.

III. A, 3. *Suddhodana visits Māyā in the Asoka Grove* (pl. xxvii, fig. 1 ; Burgess I, pl. xviii, fig. 2)—Cross-bar in the circular disc of which is a weathered scene showing a lady seated on a chair in the courtyard of a big mansion with a number of women around her, some attending to her toilet and dressing her hair, some rubbing her feet and yet others with a tray full of offerings for her. One of the women is selecting jewels for her from a casket and

one immediately to the back holds a cornucopia. To the right a prince is standing at ease leaning his left arm on his horse beside which stands the groom. There are the king's attendants behind him carrying weapons and holding the umbrella over their lord. At either end are arched gateways.

Bacchofer (ii, pl. 116 and explanation) has identified the scene in this medallion as Siddhartha meeting Gopa before marriage. This is improbable. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran identifies it as the visit of Suddhodana to Mayadevi in the Asoka grove. The story is given by Dr. Krom (I, p. 19-22) from the Lalitavistara in explaining the scenes sculptured at Barabudur. The story as given in the Lalitavistara is briefly this :—

After the dream queen Maya rose from her couch and repaired to the Asoka grove followed by her company of attendant women and sent a messenger to king Suddhodana requesting him to come to her as she desired to see him.

The king accordingly went with his followers to the Asoka grove but even as he came to the entrance he felt his body heavy but soon learnt through divine voices that it was due to the presence of the Bodhisattva in Maya's womb. The queen now narrated to the king her dream and asked him to summon wise Brahmans who could interpret it.

The sculpture shows Suddhodana arrived on a horse. He pauses after entering the gate. The queen is in the courtyard of a building within a grove suggested by trees beyond the gates at both ends. This is exactly as in Barabudur where the Asoka grove is suggested by trees shown beside the building (Krom, fig. 15) wherein seated the queen receives her husband (*op. cti.* fig. 16) the only difference being just in the vehicle of the king to reach the grove—the elephant at Barabudur in the place of the horse at Amaravati, a minor detail. The women of Maya offer her garlands and jewels (*op. cit.* fig. 17) as in the Amaravati sculpture. The same scene occurs on another slab in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. lxiii, fig. 3).

On the roof of the building is an inscription. For details see p. 289.

On the back is part of a circular lotus medallion badly mutilated.

III A, 4. *Siddhārtha's Departure* (pl. lviii, fig. 5).—Fragment of pillar with parts of central medallion, of two upright panels below and part of the border of the half-lotus below preserved. In the medallion above, a horse (much damaged) with rider (the legs alone are preserved) is trotting on rocky ground accompanied by a groom (also damaged). In the central panel below Buddha, shown as a broad flaming pillar over feet on lotus and surmounted by trisula on wheel, is adored by two turbaned men of rank. Another adorer of the same type is shown in the next panel beside an arched gateway of which but little is preserved. The scene in the medallion above is interpreted by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran

as the departure of prince Siddhartha from Kapilavastu on his horse Kanthaka preceded by Channa the charioteer. But the absence of the dwarfs that usually hold the hoofs and the presence of rocky ground nowhere met with in similar representations of the scene makes the identification inconclusive.

III A, 5. *Siddhārtha's Departure and other Scenes* (pl. xxviii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xiv, fig. 4).—Cross-bar partially broken, with scenes between the central and outer ring of petals divided by wavy foliage all of which have been explained by Dr. Burgess. The panel at the top shows devas carrying with great reverence prince Siddhartha's turban and curls in a tray. The next shows Kanthaka proceeding from Kapilavastu attended by gods, dwarfs supporting his legs. The umbrella and chauri suggest the presence of the prince. The panel lower down shows three women of rank accompanied by a *vāmanikā* adoring not only the Bodhi tree, as Dr. Burgess points out, but also Buddha under the tree suggested by the empty throne with *triśūla* on it. To the extreme right projection of the cross-bar is an inscription. For details see p. 289.

On the back is a circular lotus medallion with *Dharmacakra* on stand worked in low relief on the central boss.

III A, 6. *The Translation of the Bowl* (pl. xxvi, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl. xvii, fig. 1).—Cross-bar with a number of gods and goddesses clustering round a bowl in a tray carried aloft and adored with great reverence. Nagas, garudas, and other demigods dance while dwarf yakshas make soft music with conch and drum and divine damsels soar above with hands joined in adoration. Dr. Burgess who has identified this as the translation of the bowl of Buddha says, "there is little doubt that it represents the transference or translation of the patra or begging dish of Buddha to the tushita heaven, where it is fabled it was to be worshipped by all the devas with flowers and incense for seven days, and Maitreya Bodhisattva the next Buddha, on seeing it would explain with a sigh, 'the alms bowl of Sakya Muni has come.' After this it returns to India where a sea-dragon or Naga takes it to his palace till Maitreya is about to assume Buddhahood, when it will finally be conveyed to him by the four heavenly kings Dhrtarashtra, Virudhaka, Virupaksha and Vaisravana who preside over the four quarters and who first presented it to Sakya Muni."

On the back is a badly mutilated lotus medallion.

III A, 7. *The Temptation* (pl. lvii, fig. 1).—Coping fragment broken to the left and showing two scenes of which the left one is incomplete. To the right a king is seated on a throne attended by eight women two of whom hold a chauri and a royal fan. Three advisers of high rank are seated on circular seats beside the king, while seven others of almost equal status are seated in front below. Outside the arched gate, to the right, are two devas above flying towards it and below are two friends of noble bearing; coming through the gate is a person with hands joined in adoration. Through the gate to the left approach three persons

in all humility. Here a person of rank—a prince as he appears—is rushing away, but is being stopped by a couple of men who cling to his feet. In the scene beyond, normally proportioned youths ride horses, lions and griffins which rush through the air. Dwarfs accompany them and a dwarf bearer of a palanquin pole may be seen just at the extremity where the slab is broken. Towards the right end of the scene dwarfs are resting and conversing near the palanquin that is now set on the ground, the destination having been reached. Beyond this is rocky background suggestive of hills where the empty throne with feet on foot-rest indicative of Buddha is attacked by a normally proportioned warrior helped by dwarf attendants who brandish weapons and sound musical instruments. A similar warrior adores the feet below.

The last scene which resembles the one occurring in the sculpture identified by Coomaraswamy (see below p. 180) is probably Maradharshana or Mara's attack as Mr. T. N. Ramachandran thinks, but the scene to the right and the kneeling figure below make the identification appear rather problematical. But as in the sculpture discussed by Coomaraswamy, the bowing figure is again the same as the one who attacks and it is only synoptic representation. Mara is shown defeated and bowing to Buddha as he retreats on his elephant as in other scenes of Mara's attack and this appears to be another version of it.

Over the top is incomplete weathered inscription. For details see p. 289.

The back shows double flower garland borne by three men assisted by a fourth from the other side. Shields, two circular and ond square, arranged on the flower garland show the adoration of the Bodhi tree and of the wheel and cakravarti Mandhata respectively and in the interspaces caused by the undulation of the garland are Naga Muchilinda (half snake and half human) adoring Buddha (suggested by means of footprints) whom he protects from a storm, adoration of stupa, and three lions on lotus carried by three dwarfs.

III A, 8. *The Great Enlightenment* (pl. xlii, figs. 1 and 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xxi, figs. 1 and 2).—Coping stone (mostly damaged) with a number of connected scenes all battered and worn. The first scene shows a man flying above a city represented by buildings and an elaborate city gateway, to the great wonder of men and women seated and standing about him; of the latter one or two appear to faint. In the next scene are an empty palanquin, a horse and various strange steeds near the city gateway beside which are fat dwarfs idly standing or seated conversing; immediately above, the dwarfs are carrying the palanquin with a noble-looking man in it, while others ride lion-faced steeds which fly in the air. Beyond this are two tall majestic men approaching a *vrksha caitya*—a pavilion around a Bodhi tree. In this third scene are the pavilion with surrounding rail, the Bodhi tree with empty throne and feet on foot-rest and two worshippers. Next to this is again shown the palanquin with two riders borne by dwarfs speeding along, leonine steeds galloping in front. Below this it is set on the ground and is empty, the dwarf bearers resuming their conversation as the

occupant of the vehicle threateningly proceeds with his host of dwarf followers towards an empty throne with flaming pillar crowned by *triśūla* (symbolic of Buddha) before which there are adorers. The person kneeling opposite the throne appears to be the same as the one who threatens and this perpaps is a synoptic picture of two scenes in one—the enemy threatening and the enemy subdued. Beyond this is a scene separated from this by an arched gateway. A king is here seated on a throne with a number of men about him including two men of rank seated one on either side of him and is attended by women holding fan and umbrella and waving chauri. To the left, a prince or some person of high rank is hurrying away towards the gate but is stopped, some men holding him by the legs.

The scenes on this coping fragment have been interpreted by Dr. Coomaraswamy (9 pp. 72-73) who thinks that they are "the most remarkable and complicated of all the scenes connected with the 'Great Enlightenment'." His description is briefly this:—The central building is a *Bodhighara*, a Bodhi tree surrounded by a temple. The building of such a temple, Coomaraswamy remarks here, is an anachronism and must be long after the enlightenment "perhaps not before the time of Asoka."

On the left, within the walls, is a group of figures, the principal one being Mara, who, hearing of the approach of the Bodhisattva to the tree, resolves to defend his position. Emerged from the city, Mara mounts the palanquin waiting for him, and is seen higher up in the air carried in the vehicle by the dwarf yaksha bearers (Guhyakas). The palanquin is now on the ground again to the right and with his dwarf hosts Mara stands, his back towards the spectator, in a threatening attitude indicated by his raised hands and defiant look. The rider on wild animals above forms no doubt the retinue of his army. The two tall figures adoring in the *Bodhighara* are probably deities. Between the pillars of the *Bodhighara* and the threatening Mara is the *Bodhimandavyuha* or approach to the Bodhi tree. Here is the throne with flaming pillars having *triśūla* finial and the fury of Mara and his dwarf hosts is concentrated towards this. This must therefore be regarded as *Māradharshaṇa* and the central composition of *Bodhighara* with worshippers, the accomplishment of enlightenment when deities assemble from the four quarters to adore Buddha. Coomaraswamy here feels that "this is the only known case of an 'Enlightenment' composition in which Buddha is represented more than once."

There is a weathered inscription at the top. For details see p. 289.

The back shows the usual flower garland borne by five bearers at intervals. In the four bights are representations of two stupas and a wheel above throne, each adored by a devotee on either side, and three dwarfs on wavy foliage design above octagonal stand. Under each of the two stupas there is a circular shield on the garland, as it dips, one with worship of Bodhi tree and the other with what Dr. Burgess describes as a relic casket on a tripod, but appearing

more like a vessel, a square shield with a pattern on it (mostly worn) immediately below the wheel, and open-mouthed makara heads back to back, with a band between, in the place of the shield at the fourth dip of the garland beneath the triple dwarfs. The top border is of lotuses and the bottom one of running animals and creeper pattern.

III A. 9. *The First Sermon in the Deer Park* (pl. xxxvii. fig. 3; also Burgess I. pl. xiv, fig. 1).—Central part of rail pillar showing circular medallion with top broken. Within the medallion is an empty throne with Buddha's feet below flanked by deer, suggesting Mrgadava or deer park. Above the throne, from behind, rises a pillar supported at short stages by triple animals. The top of this which should have been decorated by a wheel is broken. A number of noble-looking turbaned men are seated on either side in adoration. Below the medallion are three flutings of which very little is here to be found. To the right Buddha's feet are shown surrounded by flames high up above the turbaned heads of adorers below. In the interspace, above, caused by the curvature of the medallion, there is on the usual lily, a representation of a deva flying down towards the feet in an attitude of adoration. This deva is repeated similarly at the opposite end. In the small bit of the fluting to the left is the foliage of a tree and part of head. In the central fluting almost all that we see is the upper part of two heads at either end. These flutings appear to be the top fragments of lower portions preserved in the lower part of pillar (III A, 10) which should have come beneath this central part (III A, 9) when it was complete.

The scene in the medallion may be identified as representing Buddha's first sermon in the deer park indicated by the deer on either side of his feet. The turbaned figures all around are the various devas that assembled to hear Buddha's preaching. "They stood in circles, the room that they occupied being more and more compressed as each additional company arrived, until at last they were so close that a hundred thousand devas had no more space than the point of a needle. All the deva-lokas and Brahma-lokas, except the arupa worlds, were left empty and the company extended from this sakwala to the Brahma-lokas. Though all space was thus filled, there was no impediment whatever to the spreading of the rays from the person of Buddha. The sound was like that of a storm; but when the Sakras blew their conchs, all became still as a waveless sea. Then Buddha opened his mouth, and preached the Dhamsak-pæwatum-sutra (Dhamma-chakka). 'There are two things,' said he, 'that must be avoided by him who seeks to become a priest; evil desire, and the bodily austerities that are practised by the (Brahman) ascetics.' The devas on each side thought that he looked in their direction when he spoke; all the devas and Brahmas thought that he addressed himself to their own particular loka; by this means the eyes of all were fixed upon him, and all hearts were offered to him. Although the stature of Maha Brahma is so great, he did not see the top of Buddha's head, nor did any being from that time forth."

(Hardy p. 191). The huge pillar with *Dharmacakra* on top behind the throne here as in other places is probably to indicate this last feature—Buddha's stature, and the numerable figures moving away on either side in other cakra slabs suggest different lokas.

III A, 10. *The Conversion of Yasa and his Friends* pl. xxxviii, figs. 1 and 2; also Burgess I, pl. x, fig. 2).—Lower part of rail pillar to come immediately beneath the previous part just described. This is split up with the bottom part damaged at one end making the border below half-lotus medallion incomplete on both sides. The border is composed of flowers and foliage issuing from makara mouth on one side but the animal is missing on the back. Three dwarfs in military attire carrying bows and swords adorn the three flutes on the back while to the front are scenes from Buddha's life. In the first panel beside a tree growing wildly driving its roots in fantastic manner into rocky soil, Buddha stands, a flaming column above feet on lotus, and is adored by a monk while another standing aside offers a robe. The central panel shows Buddha in the centre somewhat removed from the same tree shown before, adored or admired by a prince and a monk carrying a gourd vessel, standing one on either side. The last panel shows three or four princely persons in an attitude of adoration, with hands joined in respect. The heads of these figures here lost, the object of adoration in the last panel and the foliage of the tree in the first panel are preserved in the upper part (III A, 9).

The scenes in the panels may be identified as representing the story of the conversion of Yasa, his father and his companions. The story is given by Hardy (p. 192) thus :—

" Whilst Buddha remained at Isipatana, Yasa, the son of Sujata, who had been brought up in all delicacy, one night went secretly to him, was received with affection, became a priest, and entered the first path. The father, on discovering that he had fled, was disconsolate, but Buddha delivered to him a discourse, by which he became arahat. The fifty-four companions of Yasa went to the monastery to induce him to return and play with him as usual; but when they saw him they were so struck with his manner and appearance that they also resolved upon becoming priests. When they went to Buddha they were admitted, by the power of *irdhi* received the parikara requisites of the priesthood, and became arahats."

The central panel shows the princely youth Yasa approaching Buddha, shown symbolically, and is again depicted beside him as a monk, being converted. In the panel to the left, the father of Yasa bows to Buddha who preaches to him. Yasa stands nearby holding a monk's robe. In the panel to the right are the companions of Yasa all reverence for Buddha. The woman here is probably Yasa's mother mentioned in the original of the story in the Mahavagga (i. 8, 3).

III A, 11. *The Conversion of the Bhaddhavaggiya Youths* (pl. xxix, fig. 4; also Burgess, I, pl. xviii, fig. 3).—Cross-bar with empty throne and feet on footrest under Bodhi tree

adored by thirty noble-looking turbaned youths, some standing waving chauries, others approaching or moving away with hands joined in adoration, yet others seated in the same attitude and some more reverently kneeling.

This may be identified as the conversion of the youths known as Bhaddavaggiyas[1] in the Kappasika grove. The story is given in the Mahavagga of the Vinaya Pitaka, and is briefly this :—

In Kosala[2] there were thirty princes who from their great beauty and goodness were called Bhaddavaggiyas. Once they repaired to a pleasant region called Kappasika along with their wives to enjoy themselves. One of them who had no wife to accompany him took a courtesan with him. She, however, stole his ornaments and ran away. They wandered about searching for her and enquired of Buddha who was seated under a tree whether he had seen her. Buddha asked them whether it was not more profitable to seek oneself rather than others. The princes understood the significance of the Master's words and confessed that it was better to seek oneself. Buddha then delivered a discourse and converted the thirty princes. The sculpture shows the princes adoring Buddha soon after the discourse.

On the projection to the left top is a short fragmentary inscription figured and described by Burgess (1, p. 48). This is unfortunately covered with cement and hidden from view. For particulars of the inscription see p. 290.

On the back there is a lotus medallion.

III A. 12. *The Birth of Rāhula and other Scenes from Buddha's Life* (pl. xli. figs. 1 and 2 ; also Burgess 1, pl. xx. figs. 1 and 2).—Coping stone with a number of continuous scenes. To the extreme left is a double-storied mansion with women seated in the upper storey. In the chamber below is seated a king or prince conversing with his counsellors, two of whom are standing talking further away. The next scene is in a pleasure garden, indicated by the trees. A queen or princess is seated on a wicker seat attended by her maids who hold a parasol over her and fan gently with chauri and fan, others enter through the arched gateway and bring offerings in a tray while yet others regale her with music and song to the accompaniment of *vīṇā* and flute. Beyond this demi-gods and goddesses such as apsaras, vidyadharas, devas, gandharvas and dwarf yakshas soar in the air above a Bodhi tree crowned with triple parasols. Beneath it is an empty throne and feet of Buddha on footrest adored by queens or princesses, by monks and princes, including an elderly noble-looking man, probably a king. A dwarf *vāmanikā* comes in the train of the princesses, the eldest of whom brings a young boy near the throne. Beyond them is an arched gateway dividing this scene

[1] This name is given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (i, p, 197). Hardy and Rockhill also give the name. The latter translates it as 'the happy band.'

[2] This particular is given by Hardy (p. 192). The name of the region Kappasika occurs in Dhammapad-atthakatha, and is given by Hardy and Rockhill.

from the next which is that of a prince on a horse attended by his groom coming out of a city gateway. Within the city in an apartment are a mother and child lying on a bed and attended by women. Above this is an empty throne with feet on footrest.

Two of the scenes on this coping to the extreme right have been identified by Bacchofer as representing the birth of Rahula and the lesson to the first five disciples of Buddha. The rest of the scene may be identified as continuation of the story of Buddha. The story from the Nidanakatha (pp. 82, 83, 112-114, 119-128) that pertains to these scenes is briefly this :—

After the Bodhisattva had sent Channa to fetch his horse ready saddled so that he could go away from Kapilavastu to accomplish the Great Renunciation he resolved to see his new born son whom Suddhodana had named Rahula. The mother of Rahula was asleep with her hand resting on the child. Fearing that by lifting her hand he would wake her up and get prevented from going, he resolved to see his son when he returned home later as a Buddha.

Mounted on the horse Kanthaka the prince left Kapilavastu in the company of his charioteer. Though the door of the city gate was locked, it was opened by the angel residing thereat.

After the enlightenment Buddha reached Isipatana and in the Deer Park near Benares approached the five mendicants who had been his disciples before in the days of his asceticism. Owing to the greatness of the Buddha, they could not remain seated as they originally resolved to do, but rose and honoured him in spite of themselves. Then Buddha preached the law from the seat they had prepared.

After converting Uruvela Kassapa and others to his creed Buddha reached the Palm Grove near Rajagaha as he had promised king Bimbisara. The king hastened to the grove to pay his respects to Buddha. Soon so many came to visit Buddha that when he wished to go on to Rajagaha, Sakka had to come down in human form to make way for the Master to proceed. At Rajagaha the king gave him the Bamboo Grove for his dwelling.

While Buddha was staying in the Bamboo Grove king Suddhodana heard that his son had attained enlightenment and was preaching the law. He desired to see him and sent a courtier with instructions to bring his son to Kapilavastu. The courtier with his retinue approached the Master, became a monk, and no more thought of returning. This happened with nine messengers sent by the king. The tenth, Kala Udayi, however, told Buddha how anxiously king Suddhodana was awaiting his rutum.

Buddha now came with all his retinue and Suddhodana learning about his arrival beforehand through Kala Udayi, now turned monk, arranged for his stay in the Nigrodha Grove and " with flowers in their hands they went out to meet him; and sending in front the little children, and the boys and girls of the village, and then the young men and maidens

of the royal family; they themselves, decked of their own accord with sweet smelling flowers and chunam, came close behind, conducting the Blessed One to the Nigrodha Grove. There the Blessed One sat down on the Buddha's throne prepared for him, surrounded by twenty thousand Arahats."

But the Sakyas being proud by nature would not bow to one younger than them by years and the older ones considering that Buddha was in the station of younger brother, nephew and so forth asked the yougsters to bow to the Master while they themselves sat. Perceiving this Buddha rose in the air and performed a miracle after which Suddhodana and all the rest paid him obeisance.

The next day at the invitation of Suddhodana, Buddha, who began begging alms in the city, arrived at the palace with his retinue. All the women in the palace came and bowed to Buddha except the mother of Rahula who desired the Master to visit her if she counted for anything in his eyes. Buddha entered her apartment and took his seat, when, placing her head on his feet, she saluted the Master. The king now narrated how 'the king's daughter' was all love for him, how when she heard that her lord was dressed in yellow robes she similarly dressed herself, how when she heard he was satisfied with a single meal a day she restricted her own food similarly, how hearing that he had given up the use of couches, she slept on a mat spread on the floor, how since he had discarded the use of garlands and unguents she similarly gave them up herself and used them no more, and when her relations sent a message to her saying that they would take care of her she paid no heed to them. Such, Suddhodana said, was the goodness of heart of his daughter-in-law.

The lower scene to the right shows Siddhartha's new-born son with his mother's arm resting on him as given in the text. There are attendant women. Siddhartha is leaving the city on his horse through the gateway opened by devas shown beside Channa who stands beside Kanthaka. Above this the first five disciples are seated around Buddha who preaches the law. The presence of the Master is indicated by the empty throne.

The central scene has to be taken into account only after the rest of the scenes, since it is the final and culminating one. To the extreme right is a building, the palace of Suddhodana. First Suddhodana despatched a messenger bidding him fetch Buddha. The same king is shown to the left seated and similarly despatching the other messengers failing in his first attempt to get his son home.

The lady seated on a couch in a pleasure garden and enjoying music, rich food, royal honours, flowers, jewels and unguents is the mother of Rahula as a great princess. This gives us a picture of what she was accustomed to. But even there she is pensive. In the palace above it is the same lady who after hearing reports of the simple life of her lord has discarded everything and is in the company of a single woman who evidently persuades her

to take care of herself, being a princess of delicate nurture. To the extreme right there is a noble looking man entreating the sorrow-stricken mother of Rahula. It is obviously the messenger from her relatives whose request asking her to live with them she heeded not.

All this Suddhodana is shown narrating to Buddha who is however in the Banyan Grove. This is for synoptic purpose. Suddhodana is to the right, addressing the Master who is symbolised by the empty throne. Ladies, youths and children all approach Buddha as narrated in the text. The elders are not bowing. The youths however do so. An elderly lady, probably Mahapajapathi Gotami, who according to Dhammapad-atthakatha also came here, is urging a boy, Rahula, to bow though she herself refrains from it. Younger damsels however bow before the Master. And now devas are shown above probably to suggest through their presence and reverential attitude the miracle performed by Buddha which made all Sakyas prostrate before the Master.

On the roof of the chamber in the palace there is an inscription. For details see p. 290.

The back shows the usual garland carried at four points by couples, the woman assisting the man in supporting the garland. At every dip there is a shield on the garland alternately circular and square with wheels on *triśūlās*, floral patterns, scene from a Jataka story, etc., carved on them. The worship of Bodhi tree, triple lion busts supported by dwarfs, garuda kite with five-hooded snake in its beak and caught in its claws, triple dwarfs on circular column, and a stupa with a plethora of parasols adorn the bights.

III A, 13. *The Conversion of Nanda* (pl. lvii, fig. 4).—Fragment showing two Buddhist monks, one tall with head and part of body broken, another of more slender proportions beside him, Vajrapani immediately behind them, and to the right a woman seated on a couch (the *trivali* on her abdomen is very clear). The story depicted here may be identified as that of Nanda and his beautiful wife Sundari. This is narrated on p. 254 below where carving depicting this story at some length is discussed. The lady seated is Sundari, as she is usually shown at her toilet, helped by Nanda, seated opposite her. The monks are Buddha and Nanda. Nanda is pointing his finger towards his lady love without, however, turning in the direction, suggesting that his thoughts are there still. Vajrapani accompanies Buddha as he does in many other scenes at Amaravati.

III A, 14. *Sumana the Gardener, Sumana malākāra* (pl. xlix, fig. 1).—Coping fragment badly mutilated showing two scenes in a house divided by a wall and a third scene in what appears like a rock mountain to the extreme right. On the left there is a curly-haired young man of humble birth—note absence of turban—reverentially bowing to somebody. There is a turbaned man below with hands in adoration and beside him monks are seated. Beyond them runs a wall, connecting a tower below, the brick walls of a structure farther away towards the top.

The next scene shows a king, goad in hand, seated on elephant with chauri-bearer in attendance approaching a gate—the ornamented arched gateway of a tower whose adjuncts are indicated by the waggon-roofed huts on either side. Another elephant stands to the right of the gateway. Near the gateway there is an empty throne with *triśūla* on *cakra* on top radiating flame. Princely men and monks are seated around the throne ae also the curly-haired young man. Rocks and a flaming pillar are shown to the extreme right.

The scenes in the sculpture may by identified as from the story of Sumana the gardener, given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (ii, p. 123) which is as follows :—

Sumana the gardener used to give king Bimbisara five measures of jasmine flowers every morning. One day as he was entering the city with flowers for the king he saw Buddha surrounded by his monks enter Rajagaha. On this occasion the six coloured rays emitted by his body became visible instead of being concealed in his robes as was usual. The sight of the Exalted One thrilled the gardener who at once conceived a desire to honour the Master. He pondered awhile over the consequences of his adoring the Master with the flowers in his hand intended for the king. He knew that the king could kill or banish him from the realm but he braved the situation and, considering how honouring Buddha would assure him salvation in millions of cycles of time, he honoured the Master with the flowers. As he threw the first two handfuls they remained suspended in the air like a canopy over his head. Two more handfuls descended like the curtain of a pavilion and when all the eight handfuls were strewn they surrounded the Buddha on all sides and " it was as if there were a gate for him to enter. " The flowers accompanied the Master as he moved and the people were filled with wonder and paid great honour to the Master whom they followed in large numbers. The gardener saw the miracle, was suffused with joy, and after paying obeisance to the Master went home.

At home his wife asked him for the flowers; but even though he explained the miracle that had occurred, she could not understand; and being a simpleton, she scolded him for foolishly incurring the displeasure of the king who, she feared, might cut off the limbs of the offender. She therefore hurried to the king, explained the situation to him, and added that she had abandoned her foolish husband.

The king, who was a devout disciple of Buddha, understood her as a simpleton incapable of believing in a work of merit like that of her husband. He proceeded to the Master and reverentially accompanied him to the gate of his palace which he invited the Master to enter to partake of his hospitality. The Master instead of entering desired the feeding to take place in the palace court, and accordingly a pavilion was speedily erected there. The flowers remained in their position all the time aud Buddha offered thanks to the king and returned to the monastery.

When Buddha had left, the king sent for the gardener, questioned him as to what he did and, pleased with his answer, presented him with rich presents—eightfold gifts.

The flaming pillar symbolises Buddha, with rays issuing from his body, proceeding from the Veluvana, indicated as outside the city by the rocky background. The suburbs of the city are indicated by two waggon-roofed houses. Between them is an empty throne on which is a flaming *triśūla* on *cakra* symbolising Buddha ; and immediately above him are the flowers in the shape of an arched gateway. The gardener—the curly-headed young man—is among the admirers around Buddha. The king is approaching on an elephant to meet the Master, evidently after the complaint of the gardener's wife. The next scene shows Buddhist monks seated in an open court – the palace court—and the king is adoring the Master—unfortunately the portion depicting the Master is broken and missing. Above, the gardener is reverentially answering, perhaps, the questions of the king.

The back of this piece, which is let into the wall, has been left uncovered and shows the usual garland carried by bearers.

III A, 15. *Buddha subdues the fierce Elephant Nalagiri* (pl. xxv, fig. 1).—Cross-bar with circular medallion showing a scene from Buddha's life and with projecting ends lenticular in section to suit the mortices in the pillars. The scene is a tumultuous one and shows the havoc done by a *masth* elephant running wild in the streets of a city. Buddha and his disciples are shown at the right end. The elephant is kneeling at the feet of the Master.

The scene in the medallion has been identified by Dr. Foucher (2, p. 23) from the story of Nalagiri, the fierce elephant that Buddha subdued. The story is given in the Cullavagga (iii, p. 247-250, vii 11) of the Vinaya Pitaka and is briefly this :—

Devadatta tried his best to kill Buddha. Using his influence with Ajatasattu, the king, he sent men to kill the Master but was unsuccessful. He hurled a mightly rock from the mountain known as the Vulture's Peak of which only a splinter caused a slight hurt on the foot of the Master.

Foiled in his attempt, he now approached the elephant-keepers of Rajagaha, and promising them higher stations in the service of the king asked them to let loose the fierce elephant known as Nalagiri when Gotama arrived in the streets. And they assented.

The next morning Buddha entered Rajagaha for alms with a number of Bhikkhus. On seeing him in the street the elephant-keepers loosed Nalagiri. Even from a distance the animal noticed the Master and rushed towards him. The bhikkus appealed to the Master thrice to turn back as the animal was a furious one but Buddha would not turn back. He asked his monks not to be alarmed.

The citizens of Rajagaha, however, who knew the man-slaying tendency of the animal, climbed to the upper stories of their houses and on to the balconies. The unbelievers pitied

the great and beautiful monk whom they feared the animal would tear to pieces, but the believers full of devotion and insight doubted the powers of the elephant as against those of the Master.

Buddha caused a feeling of love to pervade the elephant who put down the trunk and bowed to the Master. The Master stroked the animal's forehead and asked him so to act that he may attain bliss. With his trunk Nalagiri took the dust from the feet of Buddha, sprinkled it over his head and returned quietly to his appointed place in the stables.

The sculpture shows the animal rushing furiously along towards the Master and his monks in the streets of Rajagaha. The synoptic method is adopted by the sculptor and the same elephant is repeated twice to suggest two scenes. The people of Rajagaha are panic-stricken at the sight of the furious man-slaying animal. Those that have entered their houses watch from their balconies with reverence and pity according to their faith in the Master. The elephant bows to the Master at the right end. The Master was here shown in the form of a flaming pillar above a pair of feet on a lotus and crowned with *triśūla*, but has mostly flaked off.

III A, 16. *Ajāstasattu visits Buddha* (pl. 1, fig, 1 ; also Burgess I, pl. xxiii, figs. 3 and 1). —Coping fragment mutilated at both ends showing a number of women on elephants and horses dismounting and entering a gateway to go to see Buddha as pages and attendants look to the animals and wait. The next scene shows a princely turbaned person seated to the right of Buddha, with hands in adoration, while a similar figure that was to the left is mutilated. A number of women seated and standing adore Buddha—his head is broken—represented nimbate and seated on a throne with footest in front.

The scene in the sculpture may be identified as a representation of the visit of Ajātasattu of Buddha. The incident has been graphically described in the Digha Nikaya (i. p. 65-95, ii) and is briefly thus :—

Buddha was once staying in Rajagaha in the Mango Grove of Jivaka the royal physician, with a number of monks. Ajātasattu, the King of Magadha, was seated on his palace terrace surrounded by his ministers. It was a beautiful night pleasantly lit by the full moon. The king was so overjoyed that he began to eloquently appreciate the moonlit night and asked his men to suggest a recluse whom he could meet that night for satisfying his heart. The ministers variously suggested Purana Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakuda Kaccayana and others. But the king was not satisfied. He addressed Jivaka who was seated silent and asked him why he suggested no one. Jivaka thereon mentioned to the king the presence of the Blessed One in the Mango Grove and describing his greatness requested the king to visit the Teacher. The king assented and asked Jivaka to get ready riding elephants. With his women mounted on she-elephants, himself seated on the state elephant, the king went in great state to the Mango Grove. But as he approached the grove

where not a rustle was to be heard the king grew frightened, but being reassured by Jivaka he proceeded on and on, and descending from the elephant walked the rest of the distance to the pavilion where the Teacher sat among his monks. Ajatasattu was suddenly struck by the calm in the assembly and wished his son the same peace. He then bowed to the Master and the Order and took a seat on one side. After asking a number of questions and getting his doubts cleared by the Master the king confessed his great sin in killing his father and sought refuge in the Teacher. The Master absolved him of the sin since he confessed it in so many words. Ajātasattu was delighted, rose, bowed, took leave of the Master and left the Mango Grove lighter in heart.

The ladies on the elephants in the sculpture are of the harem of Ajātasattu. The animals have approached the grove where they have stopped and the party is entering the grove. Some, including the king, have already approached the Master and taken their seat beside him. Of the turbaned men the one to the right of the Master may be taken as Ajatasattu. The mutilated figure to the left may be Jivaka.

The back shows the usual garland carried by two bearers. In the bright there is the representation of the adoration of the stupa and the circular shield on the garland shows the worship of the Bodhi tree.

III A, 17. *A Monkey offers Honey to Buddha ; Ajātasattu visits Buddha* (pl. xxxv, fig. 2 ; also Burgess 1. pl. xii, fig. 3).—Upper part of rail pillar slightly damaged at the right edge. In the top border is creeper pattern issuing from the mouth and terminating in the navel of a makara and merman terminal respectively. In between are arranged two winged lions on either side of a small central panel showing empty seat with feet under the Bodhi tree approached not by persons as Dr. Burgess says, but by monkeys, the first approaching with some offerings and the second climbing the creeper and running away.

The sculpture in the tiny panel may be identified as representing an incident from Buddha's life. The story as given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (i. p. 180) is as follows :—

When Buddha was residing in the Ghosita monastery at Kosambi his monks quarrelled among themselves and would not heed his advice to desist from it. So the Master retired to Parileyyaka forest and resided at the foot of a Sal tree where a noble elephant attended on him and looked to his comforts, sweeping the floor with a Sal branch, procuring water in a pot with his trunk, fetching him his robes and bowl just as the Master proceeded to the village for alms, fanning him with a branch and so forth. A monkey noticed this attitude of the elephant and desired to do some similar service to the Master. One day as he was running about he noticed a honeycomb on a stick, free from fleas, and offered the honey placed on a plantain leaf to the Master. The Teacher received it but did not partake of it till the monkey had removed some insect eggs sticking to it. When the Master had partaken of

it the monkey was so delighted that he jumped from one branch to another in great glee. But one of the branches broke, and falling on a tree stump he died, and was born in the World of the Thirty-Three in a golden mansion with celestial damsels to attend on him.

The empty throne and feet under the tree represent Buddha under the Sal tree whom the monkey approaches with the honey in a bowl. It may be noted here that in all representations of the monkey offering honey to Buddha, a bowl, and not a plantain leaf as given in the text, is shown. The monkey is next depicted as running away in glee and climbing not a tree but the very creeper that forms part of the decorative pattern for the border. This story occurs also on a slab in the British Museum (Fergusson, pl. lxxxvii, fig. 8).

Below this is the usual half-lotus, three panels of sculptures and circular medallion with a scene carved in it. In the central panel a king is seated on a couch, attended by his men with fan aud chauri, conversing with his ministers, counsellers and friends. In the panel to the left, six noble men are entering an arched gateway to meet the king. In the panel to the right, wait the king's horses and elephants in a garden indicated by a tree. The mahout rests idly on the elephant's head and the groom, spear in hand, is seated near his horse conversing with a man. In the medallion the lower part of which is broken there is the empty throne adored by noble-looking princes, monks and princesses whose guard in the harem, the old *kañcuki,* may also be seen in the arched gateway leading to the grove indicated by trees. In the grove bounded by a wall is a hut and building, probably the monastery.

The sculpture in the panels and the broken medallion my be identified as representing the story of king Ajatasattu's visit to Buddha in the Mango Grove of Jivaka, the story of which has already been narrated (see above, p. 189). The scene in the fluted panel shows the king consulting his ministers and Jivaka. That the elephants to be got ready are waiting outside is suggested to the right. In the medallion the empty throne suggests the presence of the Master; and monks are shown in their usual chequered robes beside the throne. The Mango Grove is snggested by the trees around. The turbaned prince bending reverentially to the right is Ajatasattu, the king of Magadha, and beside him Jivaka. The women and the *kañcuki* are from his harem.

There is an inscription on top. For details see p. 291.

The back is too far damaged to show any sculpture.

III A, 18. *The Story of Angulimāla.* (pl. xl, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xxiii, fig. 4).—Fragment of coping showing on right towards top a flaming *triśula*-topped pillar rising above a pair of feet on a lotus attacked by a man with a sword in his hand. Behind him is another man. Two men in front of the aggressor adore the feet, and a woman to the extreme right approaches the flaming pillar with a vessel on her head. Lower down a furious man, similar to the one above, attacks and forcefully pulls by his turban a man on an elephant, kicking the animal the while. Separated from this scene by a wall is another to the left where except for some monks seated with hands joined in adoration the sculpture is lost.

Coomaraswamy has figured this sculpture in his Elements of Buddhist Iconography (pl. ii, fig. 8) and suggested that it may represent the Offering of Sujata, and assault of Mara or that of Angulimāla. The last suggestion is correct and the sculpture represents the story of Angulimāla as given in the Paramatthadipani of Dhammapala on Theragatha (pp. 318-319) and is as follows :—

A son was born to the Brahman Bhaggava, the priest to the king of Kosala; and on the day of his birth all the armour in the city shimmered, causing discomfort to the king. The priest explained this strange phenomenon to the king as an indication of the future propensities of his new-born child who would become a great bandit.

The child, known as Ahimsaka, grew up strong and mighty and studied at Takkasila, respectfully waiting on his teacher and his wife. But his other co-disciples disliked him and poisoned the teacher's mind against him. The teacher, however, was afraid of the superior strength of the youth and devised a trick to ruin him. He asked him, after completion of his study, to pay him an honorarium of a thousand human right hand fingers hoping that he would get punished for the very first human finger that he cut. But the youth girt on his armour for accomplishing his task and became a terror in the neighbourhood, being known as Angulimāla from the garland of human fingers he wore on his neck till finally the king sent an army to attack and capture him. The mother of the youth remonstrated with her husband who disowned his wicked son, and finally out of love for her boy, she took provisions and set out to meet her son and turn him from his wicked ways. Buddha, knowing that Angulimāla would not spare even his mother in his thirst for human fingers appeared between him and her, and dissuaded him from his evil ways. He entered the Buddhist Order and became a great monk.

The man on the elephant who is being attacked by a youth obviously belongs to the royal force sent to capture the bandit, while the youth is Angulimala. Above, Angulimala is advancing sword in hand and his mother, afraid of any harm that may befall her son at the hands of the king's officers and unable to induce her husband, the king's priest, to interest himself on behalf of his unruly son whom he had disowned, advances to meet her boy with a vessel on her head. But between her and him is a flaming pillar surmounted by *trisūla* and with feet on lotus below, which represents Buddha. The same person is shown kneeling at the feet of Buddha. This is a synoptic representation of two scenes in one and shows the conversion of fiendish Angulimāla.

III A, 19. *The Story of Angulimāla* (pl. xxxi, fig. 2; also Burgess I, pl. xi, figs. 3 and 4).—Lower fragment of rail pillar from angle beside entrance. Dr. Burgess describes this as found near the north gate (Burgess 1, p. 35). The lenticular cavities for the ends of cross-bars are presumably present as usual on the left side[1] but on the right they are borne by

[1] This pillar has unfortunately been built into a wall so that the cavities on its left side cannot now be seen. And it has been built in with its outer side facing the same way as the inner sides of the other sculptures thus built in with it.

a forward projection of the face, so that the rail should turn outwards at a right angle. Towards the right is an empty throne with feet on foot-stool flanked by two adorers with chauries, but both are injured, the figure to the right being a mere fragment. Below this is a border of scroll work. The throne bears an inscription. For details see p. 291.

The side that originally faced the stupa has the usual three panels side by side above a half-lotus bordered below by a foliage pattern issuing from mouths of terminal makaras. The first panel shows a heavily built man (the upper part of his body is broken), a woman with her right hand over her head and a youth kneeling before her. The central one shows the man of the first panel teaching a number of students, including the youth just mentioned. In the third panel the youth kneels before the teacher who is surrounded by his pupils.

The story represented in the panels may be identified as that of Angulimala (above p. 192.)

In this sculpture the first panel shows Ahimsaka waiting respectfully on his teacher and his wife. In the next panel the teacher is among the disciples who do not like this fellow-pupil of theirs. In the third, the youth is taking leave of the teacher and bowing at his feet promising him the honorarium he had so cruelly demanded.

III A, 20. *Buddha performs a Miracle* (pl. xlvii, fig. 1 ; also Burgess I, pl. xxvi, fig. 1).— Coping fragment broken at both ends. Nimbate Buddha is seated with right hand raised in an attitude of assurance under the Bodhi tree, adored by five seated devotees and a standing chauri bearer on his left, all of them turbaned and noble looking. A similar figure to his right (partly visible) and perhaps others beyond are lost. The scene to the right shows flames around a figure seated in mid-air, obviously that of Buddha though only a little of his right side remains, adored by four monks standing with hands in *anjali*, and three noble-looking men whose figures are mutilated.

The sculpture may be identified as representing the miracle performed by Buddha at Savatthi. The story as given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (iii, p. 38) is briefly this :—

When Buddha rebuked Pindola Bharaddaja for flying up in the air to receive a bowl made of red sandal wood, a miracle that the heretics could not perform, and forbade the monks from exercising their supernatural powers, the heretics took it that the interdiction regarding the performance of miracles was also in the case of Buddha himself and went about proclaiming that they only refrained from performance of miracles for paltry things like wooden bowls, and would show their powers only if Buddha performed miracles.

King Bimbisara reported this to Buddha and asked him what he intended to do. Buddha replied that if they performed miracles he would do the same and explained to the king that the prohibition did not apply to himself, even as restrictions imposed on others in the royal pleasure garden did not apply to the king. He then informed the king that four

months hence he would on an appointed day perform a miracle at the foot of a mango tree. The heretics who were dogging the footsteps of the Master all the time now tore up all the mango trees and even the saplings in the neighbourhood of Savatthi.

On the appointed day Buddha entered the city. The king's gardener, Ganda, had that very day found a ripe mango rich in flavour and was carrying it to the king. But on seeing the Master he considered the merit that would accrue to him if he presented it to Buddha and accordingly offered it to him. Ananda crushed the ripe fruit and offered the juice of the mango to Buddha who after partaking of it asked Ganda to plant the seed there.

Immediately there arose a huge mango tree full of ripe mangoes and all the monks partook of them. The king heard of this wonderful tree and posted a guard ordering it not to be cut; and it was known as Ganda's mango tree. Folk from the neighbourhood who ate the ripe fruit abused the heretics for cutting all the trees in the place in spite of which arose this sweet mango tree and pelted them with the seeds from the fruits. The pavilion of the heretics in the vicinity was now uprooted by the wind-cloud god and other inconveniences were caused by other deities on the orders of Sakka. Thus discomfited, Purana Kassapa, the heretic, drowned himself in the river.

Now Buddha determined to perform the miracle but many of his disciples offered to do that themselves and save the Master the trouble. Buddha declined the offers and performed it himself. "From the upper part of his body proceeded flames of fire and from the lower part a stream of water. From the front part of his body proceeded flames of fire, and from the back part of his body a stream of water. From the back part of his body proceeded flames of fire and from the front part of his body a stream of water," and with three strides, setting his foot on earth but thrice, he rose to the World of the Thirty-Three to expound the Abhidhamma to his mother.

The sculpture to the left, the only panel intact, represents Buddha under the miraculous mango tree, surrounded by a number of devotees. The group should include Bimbisara who posted a guard to watch the tree, and the merchant prince Culla Anathapindika who among others had offered to perform a miracle. The scene to the right shows monks adoring Buddha with flames issuing from his body. The sculpture being mutilated; the figure of Buddha is completely lost except for the right knee in his seated pose and part of his right hand and shoulder. The circular jar-shaped objects in the flames are probably to suggest the streams of water.

On the back is the usual flower-garland carried by two bearers. In the bight above is the representation of the adoration of the stupa, and the shield on the garland below shows the adoration of the wheel.

III A, 21. *Buddha performs a Miracle* (pl. xxxviii, fig. 2; also Burgess I, pl. vii, figs. 1 and 2).—Rail pillar badly injured at the top, sides and centre. Above a border composed of central foliage pattern, terminal makaras and running lion and griffin, is the usual

half-lotus ; in the first of the three panels above it are a garuda and nagaraja advancing with noble-looking comrades (probably devas) dwarfs yakshas leading the way with hands joined in adoration ; in the central panel some more of these divine beings, one of them of high rank with parasol held above him ; beyond this are more devas including a minstrel with harp-shaped *vīṇā* and a dancer ; dwarf yakshas lead as in the previous panels. The part immediately above these panels is multilated and above it in the uninjured portion of the circular medallion there is a flaming pillar (the *triśūla* on top cannot be made out as it is badly damaged) on empty throne under Bodhi tree adored by noble-looking turbaned men of divine appearance, as also by women, beside whom the injured form of an aged *kañcuki* can be discerned. Above this are three panels side by side in the middle of which the central figure, a dignified turbaned prince seated in the air amidst flames, is adored by men, women and dwarfs on all sides. The half-lotus above is almost completely lost.

The scene may be indentified as a representation of the miracle of Savatthi (Dhammapad-atthakatha iii, p. 45) which has been narrated already (see above, p. 193) where the subject has been explained.

In the central medallion which is partially defaced there is the mango tree with an empty throne beneath it and flaming pillar surmounted by wheel and *triśūla* to suggest Buddha's presence. All round are devotees of Buddha including princesses from ths royal harem escorted by the old *kañcuki* on the extreme right. In the panels above, Buddha is in the air with flames issuing from his body. The circular vessels interspersed among the flames suggest the streams of water as in the other sculpture representing the same scene (pl. xivii, fig. 1). Buddha is here shown wearing jewels and in the garb of a god, probably to suggest his ascent to heaven to preach to Maya. Devotees adore him on all sides. In the lowermost panels a nagaraja, a garuda, and two great gods proceeding together with umbrella held over them—probably Sakka and Mahabrahma—preceded by Pancasikha, the divine minstrel and dancing gandharvas and dwarf yakshas are on their way to witness the miracle.

On the back there is a lower border composed of makara terminals, and two lions flanking central flower pattern, the usual half-lotus crowned with wavy pattern and three dwarf yakshas gaily adorned, dancing in the three flutes immediately below the central medallion at the top and bottom of which the wavy pattern is repeated. Above this is the adoration of the stupa by men of noble bearing arranged in all the three panels. Except for part of the border the top half-lotus is broken and lost.

III A, 22. *Buddha preaches to his Mother in Heaven* (pl. xxxii, fig. 3).—Part of upright with broken medallion showing an empty throne under Bodhi tree suggestive of Buddha's presence surrounded by a number of noble-looking devotees. The person seated to the left of the throne wears the *kirīta*, the special headdress of Sakka. Below this there have

been three panels of which the first and part of the second are lost. The central part shows two monks going up a rocky mountain whence in the adjacent panel one of them flies into the sky. Three turbaned men are shown below.

This is identified by Dr. Stella Kramrisch (p. 168 explanation of pl. xvii 51) with the Darimukha Jataka but the sculpture does not answer that story well. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran suggests that it may be "the ascension of the Buddha to heaven after he had attained Buddhahood." He obviously refers to the miracle that Buddha performed as he rose into the air to dispel the doubts of the gods as given in the Nidanakatha (p. 105). The incident is briefly this :—

After the enlightenment, the Master resolved not to leave the seat which was his throne of triumph and was absorbed in thought for seven days and enjoyed the bliss of nirvana. The gods began to wonder why he was lingering still and doubted whether he had finished all that he had to do. The Master rose into the air and performed the miracle of creating his double, *yamakapāṭihariyām*, translated by Rhys Davids as "the miracle of making another appearance like unto himself."

The explanation seems plausible since the presence of Sakka and the hosts hovering around the empty throne under the tree suggest this adoration. In this case the monk rising up in the air would be the Master, and the turbaned people below would be some of the devas looking up in astonishment and reverence. The two monks in the panel next to it would then represent Buddha and his double.

There are, however, one or two strong points against this identification. The monks shown flying lack a halo and Buddha is never represented without a halo around his head in other sculptures from Amaravati. Further, they wear the chequered robes worn by ordinary monks in the sculptures. Buddha is always shown wearing robes with beautiful folds, not ordinary ones. One of the two monks in the central panel has his hands joined in adoration which makes it impossible for him to be Buddha or his double. The scene may therefore be identified as representing the story of Buddha after the Miracle of Sravasti as given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (iii, pp. 47-53) which is briefly this :—

After performing the miracle at Savatthi and preaching the law to the great multitude there assembled, Buddhā took three strides, and reached the World of Thirty-three, where he filled the huge yellow-stone throne of Sakka, completely dispelling the doubts of Sakka who expected the long throne, even though occupied by Buddha, to be practically empty. And

"In the world of the Thirty-three, when the Buddha, most exalted of beings,
Dwelt at the foot of the Coral-tree, seated on the yellow throne,
The deities of the Ten Worlds assembled together and waited upon
The Supremely Enlightened, dwelling at the highest point of the heavens."

Thus seated, the Master expounded the Abhidhamma Pitaka to his mother Mayadevi.

But the large multitude was grieved to see that the Master had disappeared ; and learning from the elder Anuruddha, to whom the elder Moggallana referred them, that he was gone to the World of the Thirty-three and was expected to return after three months, all stayed there " with the sky alone for their covering " being provided with food by Culla Anathapindika.

Buddha continued to preach without interruption for three months, creating his double for continuing the preaching while he went out for alms attended by Sariputta who flew up to him for the purpose every day. And as three months came to a close the assembly desired to know when the Master would descend. Moggallana now went to the foot of Mount Sineru and began to climb up league after league when finally he prostrated himself before the Teacher telling him the eagerness with which the multitude awaited his descent.

The central medallion shows Buddha preaching in the World of the Thirty-three, adored by gods including Sakka. Except for a few leaves the Coral tree has disappeared, a large part of the medallion being broken. For the same reason Mayadevi seated to the right of the Master is lost. In the lower panel Moggallana and Anuruddha are shown, the latter with clasped hands pointing up to where the Master is preaching. In the panel to the right Moggallana flies over the mountains watched by the multitude that awaited the Master living in the open for three months " with the sky alone for their covering."

It is the presence of the figure with the *kirīṭa* that helps the identification of this sculpture. The *kirīṭa* of the figure in the sculpture has been noted by Dr. Coomaraswamy (p. 41) who thinks that this must also sometimes have been worn by kings, and suggests that it may be a king wearing it, citing similar representations of *kirīṭas* worn, as he believes, by kings. As for the *kirīṭa* of the figure in the top panel in Burgess I, pl. xli, fig. 5 it is definitely that of Sakka (see Foucher's identification in Foucher 2. p. 22 of scenes from Nanda's life) ; the other two have not clearly been proved to be kings. The *mithuna* in Fergusson, pl. lxxxiii, may well be Sakka and Suja.

The back which is let into the wall shows a broken full-blown lotus and two dancing yakshas below.

III A, 23. *King Pasenadi entertains Ānanda and other Monks* (pl. liii, figs. 1 and 2 ; also Burgess I, pl. xxvi, fig. 3 and 4).—Coping fragment showing a king risen from his lion throne to adore four Buddhist monks. His attendants, and a turbaned man, perhaps a prince, are also in an attitude of reverence ; one of them is actually kneeling at the feet of the monks ; and a drawf follower hastens with hands together to offer his salutation.

The scene represented in the sculpture may be identified as from the story of Pesanadi Kosala and the monks headed by Ananda whom he entertained with food in his palace. The story is given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (ii. pp. 32-36) and is briefly this :—

King Pasenadi Kosala of Savatthi was one day watching from his terrace several thousand monks passing through the street on their way to the house of Anathapindika, Culla Anathapindika, Visakha and Suppavasa. He enquired and learnt that they were going for breakfasting in the houses of Anathapindika and some others.

The king also conceived a desire to entertain the monks and requested Buddha to come to his palace with his congregation to partake of his hospitality. For seven days Buddha was entertained by the king after which he told the king that the Buddhas could not take their meal regularly in any one place as many desired them to visit their homes. The king was now content with a congregation of monks headed by Ananda whom the Master asked to visit the palace regularly to partake of the king's bounty.

For seven days the king personally attended on them, but from the eighth day he neglected to perform his duty, and the monks, noticing this and the indifference of the servants in the royal household, who would not do a thing unless specifically asked to do so, stopped away from going to the palace. On the tenth day there was no one except Ananda to go to the palace, as being truly righteous he rose superior to circumstances and remained guarding the faith of the king's house. When Ananda, the only monk to come, had departed after having been entertained, the king enquired and learnt that the others had stopped coming. The king was now wrath with the monks for their absenting themselves and complained to the Master of their conduct.

The Master, however, addressed the monks telling them of the nine traits disqualifying a family from receiving visits from the monks and conversely of the nine traits that entitle a family to receiving visits from them. And finally he told the king that the monks lacked confidence in him which was the reason for their stopping away from his palace. Hence the king for winning their confidence married a daughter of Mahanama, one of the Sakyas, and cousin of Buddha.

The sculpture shows king Pasenadi rising from his lion throne and respectfully receiving Ananda and other monks. That they are ordinary monks and not Buddha is clear from the fact that there is none with an aureole among them; and an aureole is an invariable feature of Buddha among these sculptures.

The back shows a huge makara with dwarf rider on its head and flower-garland in its mouth.

III A, 24. *Cullakāla's Wives regain their Husband* (pl. liv; figs. 1 and 2).—Fragment of coping showing part of flower-garland carried by two bearers, one standing, the other kneeling. The bight shows the worship of the feet on the throne and pillar with wheel (now destroyed). The place of the shield on the garland is occupied by a double makara head back to back

through whose gaping jaws issues the garland. The front shows a yakshi (destroyed above the waist) on a makara; in the panel on the left a noble-looking man is hurrying away but is detained by ladies who cling to him. Brick wall, probably of a city, can be seen to the man's right. The compartment above is broken and lost and just shows a seat of wicker work with someone on it.

The scene in the sculpture the upper part of which is unfortunately broken may be identified as from the story of Cullakala as given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (i, pp. 184-189.) The story is briefly this:—

There once lived in Setavya three merchants named Cullakala, Majjhimakala and Mahakala. Mahakala and Cullakala, the eldest and the youngest respectively, used to take wares of different kinds to Savatthi for selling them there. When halting between Savatthi and Jetavana they noticed the residents of Savatthi going with garlands and perfumes to meet Buddha and hear the law. Mahakala asked his brother to look after their carts and himself approached the Master to hear him preach. After the discourse he requested Buddha to admit him into the Order, but the Master insisted on his taking the permission of his kinsmen. In spite of the remonstrances of Cullakala he became a monk, and Cullakala too followed suit with the idea of bringing back his brother to his former mode of life.

But Mahakala was earnest enough in his asceticism and selecting a suitable subject for contemplation in the burning ground he concentrated on the idea of decay and soon became an arhat with supernatural faculties. After this the Master with his congregation happened in his round of visits to come to Setavya. Cullakala's wives now rejoiced as they thought it was an opportunity for them to recover their husband; and invited the Master and monks to their house. As seats had to be arranged properly before the Master arrived Mahakala sent Cullakala to supervise the arrangement of seats.

But as soon as Cullakala arrived, his household began to arrange seats in contrary positions, and when he corrected the arrangement, his wives told him it was none of his business, interrogated him mockingly as to who asked him to become a monk and why he had come there and so forth. They then surrounded him and tearing off his monk's garments, clothed him with white garments, placed a garland coil on his head and packed him off to fetch the Master while they arranged the seats; and he did as he was bid without any sense of shame.

Mahakala's wives tried the same trick on Mahakala but were unsuccessful.

The sculpture represents Cullakala, surrounded and heckled by his wives who have dressed him in the wealthy raiment of a layman and pull at him, but, fondling one of his wives with his left hand even as he departs to fetch the Master. In the scene above, wnich is broken two men are seated conversing. They may be Cullakala and Mahakala, the latter requesting

the former to allow him to become a monk, the former trying to dissuade him. This is the earlier incident of the story to suggest that Cullakala entered the Order just to bring back his brother among the laymen and was never anxious about asceticism.

III A, 25. *Rūpananda learns of the Impermanence of Beauty* (pl. xxxi, fig. 1 ; also Burgess I, pl. xii, fig 4).—Lower part of broken rail pillar showing half-lotus above a border of lovely foliage issuing from the mouth of a terminal makara ; above the half-lotus is a scene representing a number of monks and turbaned noble-looking laymen seated and standing, some of them approaching through an entrance (some of the figures are injured since the upper part of the panel is lost), all with hands joined in adoration around an empty throne with double cushion signifying the presence of the Master.

The scene in the sculpture may be identified as being from the story of the nun Janapadakalyani Rupananda as given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (ii, pp. 336-339) which is briefly this :—

Janapadakalyani, the beautiful wife of Nanda, saw that her nearest and dearest kinsmen had become monks, her eldest brother having become the Buddha, his son Rahula a monk, similarly her husband Nanda, and her mother a nun. She therefore desired no longer to continue her life at home and joined the community of nuns because of her love for her kinsfolk and not because of her faith. And for her wondrous beauty she was called Rupananda (Beauty-Nanda).

One day she heard that the Master had preached of the impermanence of beauty and fearing that he would find fault with her own form which was surpassingly beautiful, avoided meeting him face to face.

The residents of Savatthi gave alms in the morning, observed the fast day, and dressing themselves in spotless garments proceeded to Jetavana with garlands and perfumes, to hear the Master preach the law. And the community of nuns also attended the discourse. Rupananda listened to their praises of Buddha when they returned after the discourse, and making bold to go and hear him preach the law in spite of her fear that he would find fault with her great beauty, told the nuns that she would accompany them to hear the Master preach.

But Buddha knew that she was only thinking of her beauty all the time, and desired to use beauty of form to crush this pride of hers, even as a thorn is removed with the aid of another thorn. And by his supernatural power he created a young woman of surpassing beauty dressed in crimson garments and ornaments who stood beside him attending on him with a fan in her hand.

When Rupananda beheld the glamorous beauty of this woman she realised that she herself was like a crow before a royal goose of golden hue. But even as she watched her and listened to the Master's discourse she saw the young damsel of sixteen turn into a woman of twenty, into a middle-aged woman, and finally a decrepit old woman full of disease, loathsome

to behold. Soon she was dead and her body began to bloat; from her body emanated worms; and crows and dogs tore up the corpse. This disgusting sight made Rupananda realise the ephemeral nature of beauty, and hearing the discourse of the Master, she then and there attained the fruit of conversion and arhatship.

The sculpture, unfortunately mutilated, shows many noble lay disciples of Savatthi seated to the right, and others are entering the Jetavana monastery to hear the Master preach the law from the throne which symbolises his presence. Many nuns are seated to the left. The nuns are all seated on one side and are easily distinguished, in spite of the fact that they are fully robed, by their slim bodies, attenuated waists and board hips. The sculptor has successfully depicted with great care the contours of their bodies beneath their draperies so as to show clearly that they are nuns, not monks. The lady standing beside Buddha, fan in hand, is similarly robed. This is probably to suggest that if even one so draped in monkish robes is so surpassingly beautiful how much greater would be her beauty if she wore the more elegant dress of a lay woman. This is to show greater beauty than Rupananda in her own ground and in her own station and garb, a fine device of the sculptor.

III A, 26 and 27. *The story of Udayana and his Queens* (pl. xxxv, fig. 1 and pl, xxxiv, figs. 1 and 2; also Burgess 1 pl. ix, figs. 1 and 2 pl. xii. figs. 1 and 2)—Lower part of rail pillar (III-A, 26) with part of central medallion: the fluted part and half-lotus over border of foliage issuing from the mouths of terminal makaras below. The medallion shows an agitated scene in which women lie helpless on a platform below the feet of standing men and women, the rest of their figures being lost. In the panel to the left a woman on a seat and a fat man with elevated headgear converse and attendant women stand beside them. In the next panel a king or prince is rushing violently disregarding women around him including a *vāmanikā* who shrieks. A woman kneels before him with profound respect. In the last panel which is mostly broken there are three women standing watching the while.

The back shows the circular central lotus and the half-lotus over foliage border below, with flutes between both containing three dwarf yakshas, the central one dancing merrily, as the one to his right keeps time and the other to his left watches with arms folded in an attitude of comfort.

Upper fragment of rail pillar (III A, 27), with top border of lions and creeper issuing from the mouths of terminal makaras, half-lotus with beautiful border of geese, three panels in the fluted space, and upper part of the central medallion which is broken. In the panel to the left a person with peculiar headgear and a number of women of rank gaze at a snake near a *vīṇā* in a chair. In the central panel a person of noble bearing—a king—is threatening women about him with a bow in his hand; to the right other women in the palace including a hunchback humbly bow to him. The women are bowing to the king in the lower medallion as well.

The carving on both fragments of this upright represent the story of Udayana. It was identified and interpreted by Mlle. Raymonde Linossier (p. 101–102)[1]. The story as narrated in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (i, p. 281–288) is as follows :—

King Udayana of Kosambi had other queens, Magandiya and Samavati, beside Vasuladatta. Magandiya hated Samavati and desired to harm her if she could. Her first two attempts at poisoning the king's mind against her were unsuccessful. In the first case Magandiya tried to make the king believe that some holes, made in the walls of the harem by Samavati so that she could look at the Blessed One as he passed through the street, were intended for killing him. Her next plot was to substitute dead cocks for live ones to be cooked for Gautama by Samavati who would on no account injure live animals and had therefore refused to kill live fowls first sent by Udayana to be cooked for himself. When Samavati had cooked them, Magandiya told the king that the former cooked for the Master but refused to do so for him. But Udayana did not believe the interpretations put by Magandiya on the action of Samavati on either occasion. Being thus frustrated in her attempts, Magandiya planned a bolder and more treacherous plot.

Udayana was very fond of music and was an adept on the *viṇā*. He used to spend his days equally among his three consorts, and wherever he went his musical instruments accompanied him. Magandiya, on the day previous to the one on which the king was to visit Samavati, procured a snake through her uncle, placed it in the shell of the *vīṇā* and stopped the hole through which she slipped it in with a bunch of flowers. She then told the king that she had dreamt bad dreams and pretending to be all anxiety for his safety requested him not to go away from her apartments so soon. The king nevertheless went to the palace of Samavati, carrying his *vīṇā* along with him and followed by Magandiya who insisted on accompanying him in spite of his protests. When the king rested on the couch with the *vīṇā* beside his pillow in Samavati's apartment, Magandiya removed the bunch of flowers unobserved, and out of the hole emerged the famished snake full of fury. The hiss of the reptile and the screams of Magandiya accompanied by accusations against her co-wife so completely convinced the king of guilt in poor Samavati that he instantly took his mighty bow and shot a poisoned arrow at her even as she requested her attendants not to cherish any hatred towards the king, her husband, or Magandiya. But Samavati's love towards the king and her co-wives was such that the arrow could not hurt her. It simply turned back. This set the king thinking. The arrow, capable of piercing the hardest substance and possessed of no life or feeling, could understand the goodness of Samavati and turned back, but he, a human being could not understand. He at once threw the bow away, prostrated himself before her, and requested her to be his refuge. But Samavati requested him to seek refuge in Buddha which the king accordingly did.

[1] Dr. Krimrisch (p. 168) identifies this however with a story from the Divyavadana which is not acceptable.

The broken piece of upright that supplies the lower portion (i.e., III A, 26) supplies the earlier scenes of the story. The pot-bellied man discussing with a woman is Culla Magandiya, the uncle of the jealous queen discussing the dark plot with his niece. The panel beside it shows Udayana going quickly with something in his right hand while a prostrate woman and her attendants, some of them to be seen in the third and last panel, request him not to go. This is the scene in Magandiya's palace just after her plot and the insertion of the snake in the *vīṇā* when she sheds crocodile tears for his safety which she fears is threatened by a fictitious dream. The dwarfish attendant who has also been figured in the other fragment, is present here with a malevolent face and is making loud lamentations, her hands jesticulating violently her thoughts of safety for the king.

The part of the upright immediately beneath the half medallion at the top (III A, 27) represents the king with his bow, all in a fury, in its central panel. He holds the bow in his left hand and is quite agitated. The scene includes women in a disturbed state. There is a dwarfish woman, the usual *vāmaṇikā* in the royal household fallen down in abject terror. A lady is also on the ground with her hands folded in reverence. She is undoubtedly one of the attendants of Samavati who is shown in the panel to the right bowing to the king without the least feeling of anger towards him even as he attempts to kill her. Her companions are beside her. Beside the king is a woman with a look of satisiaction, undoubtedly Magandiya, and her hand which projects into the next panel connects both the panels making them one scene. In the panel to the left, a snake is shown coiled up in the seat beside the *vīṇā*—in the story the *vīṇā* is placed near the pillow on the bed of Udayana—and a woman is standing, looking curiously at the snake and conversing with a pot-bellied person wearing a barrel-shaped headgear. This woman must be queen Magandiya conversing with her uncle, who can easily be identified by the evil look of the pot-bellied figure. This man figures in another fragment (Burgess I pl. ix), a fact which is noticed and stated by Mlle. Linossier who has suggested that this broken piece of upright may be the lower part of the one that is being described, as it undoubtedly is. The positions of the broken figures in one panel and the broken feet in the other agree, but there appears to have been a small piece of carving connecting the two that is now lost. The serpent coiled up in the seat instead of the pillow on the bed is a small deviation from the story and is repeated in a broken medallion representing the same incident from Udayana's life (Fergusson, pl. liii, 1). It thus appears to be a synoptic representation of two scenes in one. The snake in the chair beside the *vīṇā* must be taken as part of the panel in interpreting that scene, where it is the situation immediately before the reptile is put into the hole in the *vīṇā* just after the uncle of Magandiya procures for his niece the abominable creature ; in interpreting again the scene with the agitated bowman, Udayana, the same chair with its contents has to be taken in for explaining the situation, this time interpreting the venomous creature as just come out of the *vīṇā*. Such artistic tricks are not unknown in India and we have classical examples in patterns that have survived

through the centuries in various periods and transformed modes of work of different generations from Gupta right down to Vijayanagar and modern (Coomaraswamy 19, p. 192). This also shows the synoptic method of introducing one scene into another, a method not uncommon in Amaravati. Mlle. Linossier identifies the slender little woman as Khujjuttara, the hunchback attendant of Samavati. The dwarfish woman making loud lamentations with hands upraised in the lower fragment is, in all probability, the same servant of the household of Magandiya, as is shown prostrate beneath the king in the upper fragment. It is significant that the wicked uncle and accomplice of Magandiya is figured twice.

In the mutilated medallion immediately below the panel the king is shown with something curved in his hand. The disturbed scene continues. The chauri bearer of the upper central panel is repeated in this broken medallion, and Samavati has slightly moved to the right but is yet calm. Another of her maids is reverently showing by action what her mistress has taught her. The thing in the king's hand may be taken as the arrow that has returned powerless. Its twisted shape is perhaps to indicate its utter shamefacedness. The king is not very violent. Perhaps he is pausing to think of the attitude of the arrow. This medallion must be taken as the last scene in the story.

On the back is a top border with winged lions adoring a Bodhi tree and the usual half-lotus; two men of noble aspect wave chauris to a wheel on pillar behind an empty throne in the central panel below the half-lotus and in the side panels a man and women of noble bearing are shown each in respectful attitude.

III A. 28. *The Division of the Relics* (pl. xliii, figs. 1 and 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xxv, figs. 1 and 2).—Coping stone with carving on both sides. The inner side shows seven elephants with two riders on each, one holding a casket and another waving a chauri, issuing from a city gateway within which in three compartments two scenes of important discussion and consultation among chiefs and one of musical and dance festivities are shown.

These scenes have been identified by Dr. Foucher (2, p. 14) as representing the division of the bones of Buddha after his death at Kusinara. The story of the Master's death and the division of his bonss is given in the Mahaparinibbana sutta of the Digha Nikaya (ii, p. 179-191) and is briefly this:

Learning through Ananda that the Master had passed away, the Mallas of Kusinara greatly lamented and came to the Sal grove with music and dance and with garlands and perfumes for performing his cremation ceremony. The ceremonies lasted a week when finally Buddha's corpse was carried to be placed on the funeral pyre. Mahakassapa arrived in the meantime and revered the feet of the Master. After the body was burnt the Mallas of Kusinara surrounded the bones of Buddha in their council hall with lattice work of spears and with a rampart of bows, and for seven days they honoured them with music and dance, garlands and perfume.

Soon the news reached Ajatasattu, king of Magadha the Licchavis of Vesali, the Sakiyas of Kapilavatthu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Ramagama, the Mallas of Pava, and the Brahmans of Vethadipa, all of whom sent their messengers to request a share of the bones of Buddha. The Mallas of Kusinara, however, refused to give them up as Buddha died in their country and they felt that they were entitled to the entire remains of the Master. But a Brahman named Dona advised them not to quarrel over the remains of the Master who had always preached peace and goodwill. The Mallas now requested Dona himself to divide the relics which he accordingly did. He divided them into eight parts and gave the portions away taking the receptacle for himself over which he built a stupa. The Moriyas of Pippha-livana asked for a share of the remains too late and had to content themselves with the embers. A stupa was raised over these as well as over each of the eight portions of the actual relics.

In the sculpture the lower scene to the right represents the funeral ceremonies and honouring of Buddha's remains with music and songs. The first panel above this to the right shows the Mallas disagreeing to give the remains of Buddha to the applicants, and seated with his head in an attitude of persuasion is a noble-looking man who is obviously Dona.

In the next panel all the applicants are assembled along with the Mallas who have with the help of Dona made the eight divisions shown in two rows of four on a rectangular table around which they are seated. Finally in the scene to the left seven elephants issue from the gateway of Kusinara, each with a rider holding a relic casket and a chauri bearer honouring it by waving the chauri since "as men treat the remains of a king of kings, so should they treat the remains of a Tathagata" (Digha Nikaya ii, p. 182, xxi, 6, 17).

The back shows the usual flower garland carried by a huge seated dwarf yaksha on his neck at one end, and three normally proportioned yakshas at regular intervals. There are three shields on the garland, two circular and one square, the former with trisula pattern and the latter with flower decoration. In the bights are arranged a stupa, wheel above throne flanked by worshippers, and Bodhi tree with empty throne adored by two devotees.

Symbolic Representation of Principal Scenes from Buddha's Life. III *A*, 29. *Stupa Adoration symbolising Buddha's Parinirvāṇa* (pl. xxxix. fig. 2.)—Broken upright showing the worship of the stupa by eight persons of noble bearing distributed in three panels immediately below half medallion at top. The figures are in different attitudes of adoration with folded arms against their breast, raised over head, carrying a water vessel and offerings in a tray. One of them carries a large bunch of lotuses by their stalks. These eight may be the eight claimants for Buddha's relics, the stupa symbolising all the eight built and worshipped by them.

III A, 30. *Stupa Adoration symbolising Buddha's Parinirvāṇa* (pl. xxix, fig. 3 ; also Burgess 1, pl. xviii, fig. 4).—Cross-bar with medallion representing the worship of the stupa.

The umbrellas over the stupa are a mighty host. A man and woman are kneeling in the foreground before the stupa. To the right are five men, two playing drum and others the flute, and to the left are six women and two boys reverently approaching, one of them carrying a tray with offerings.

On the back is a lotus medallion.

III A, 31. ? *Adoration of Buddha under the Bodhi Tree symbolising Enlightenment* (pl. xxxvi. fig. 2 ; also Burgess 1, pl. xlix, fig. 3).—Lower part of rail pillar showing four women adoring the feet of Buddha on a jewelled footrest opposite a throne (broken and lost.) This is one of the most lovely sculptures from the rail. The presence of a tree and cakra pillar behind the throne would explain what the scene represents but unfortunately the upper part showing this is lost.

B. Scenes from Buddha's Previous Lives (Jatakas and Avadanas).

III B, 1. *The Snake Charmer and his Monkey, Ahiguṇḍika Jātāka* (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1).—Fragment of upright showing Jatakas scene in a medallion with lotus border. A snake charmer with negroid features and curly hair holds a tray or the lid of a circular wicker box on whfch a snake lifts itself up to dance before a man of noble bearing, seated on a *pallanka* with his wife on his right. Female attendants are present.

This scene has been identified by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy (16, p. 189) as from the Bhuridatta or the Campeyya Jatakas. He feels, however, that it may more appropriately be a scene from the Ahigundika Jataka as this would explain the presence of the monkey. The story of the snake charmer and the monkey is given twice in the Jataka book, in the Salaka (ii, No. 249, p. 186) and the Ahigundika Jatakas (iii, No. 365, p. 130). The story, which is almost the same in both, is this :—

The Bodhisatta was once born as a corn merchant at Benares. It so chanced that a snake charmer (*ahiguṇḍika*) who gained his living by making a snake play with a pet monkey desired to make merry at a festival proclaimed in the city, and entrusted the latter animal to the care of that merchant. In a week he was back again in the house of the corn merchant to fetch his monkey. Under the influence of strong liquor he beat the monkey with a piece of bamboo, took him to a garden, tied him up, and lay down to sleep. The animal got loose and, climbing up a mango tree close by, sat there eating one of its fruits. The snake charmer soon awoke and noticing the monkey on the tree tried to coax it to come back to him. The monkey was too clever for him and reminding him of his cruelty that morning ran off and was lost in a large crowd of animals of his kind.

The sculpture shows one of the three panels above the circular lotus medallion. It illustrates the snake charmer's mode of earning his livelihood. A king, evidently Brahmadatta of Benares, is shown seated on his royal couch in the company of his queens and attendants, enjoying the tricks of the snake charmer and his monkey. That the scene is laid in a pleasure garden is evident from the tree carved at one end.

III B, 2. *The Story of Bhūridatta, Bhūridatta Jataka* (pl. xxx, fig. 2; also Burgess 1. pl. xiv, fig. 3).—Top fragment of upright with border of animals including bulls and lions, and two of the three panels below half lotus. The first panel shows a king or prince seated at ease on his throne attended by a couple of women. Except the heads the figures are all almost completely lost. In the next panel is a nagi humbly approaching with joined hands the prince of the previous panel. Both figures are broken below the chest.

The fragment of sculpture may be identified as an early scene in the story of Bhuridatta (Jataka vi, No. 543, p. 80). The story is briefly as follows :—

Brahmadatta, the king of Benares, grew suspicious about his son, his viceroy, whose power he feared. Hence he asked him to quit his kingdom till the day of his death when he could come back to inherit it. The prince agreed and repaired to the Yamuna (Jumna) river where he dwelt in a hut of leaves. A passionate naga woman happened to go that way and entered the hut. Anxious to know whether the occupant of the hut was an ascetic or a lover of pleasure she prepared a perfumed flowery couch, adorned the hut and left for the naga world. The prince, when he returned to his hut in the evening, was overjoyed to see the splendid couch and spent the night on it. In the morning, when he had left the hut, the nagi returned and seeing the faded flowers knew him at once as a lover of pleasures. She prepared a fresh bed of flowers this time to captivate him. When she was gone and the prince returned, the latter wondered who could have prepared the bed. The next day he remained in the hut, concealed, and on seeing the surpassingly beautiful naga maiden coming along with flowers, he fell in love with her. He approached her and asked her who she was at the same time informing her that he was the crown prince of Benares. They agreed to live as man and wife and the naga damsel created a rich mansion wherein they dwelt happily. Soon they had a son and daughter. By that time the king of Benares died, and the prince was requested to come back to his paternal kingdom. The rest of this long story is unnecessary for our purpose.

The broken upright shows fragments of two scenes. Though badly mutilated there is enough to show what they represented. The prince is shown in the first panel as viceroy and in the second conversing with the nagini.

As described by Dr. Burgess the back is almost completely lost except for a fragment of half-lotus and prancing lion in border above.

III B, 3. *The Noble Six-tusked Elephant, Chaddanta Jataka* (pl. xxvi, fig. 2; also Burgess 1. pl. xix, fig. 1).—Cross-bar with medallion representing a favourite story – the Chaddanta Jataka (v, No. 514, p. 20). The elephants are shown sporting in a lake full of lotuses while others hold the umbrella and wave the chauri for their leader. Wild animals like lions and boars are shown in their rocky lairs and deer drink the water of the lake and feed on the verdure around. The hunter is stealthily lying in waiting for the approach of

the majestic beast, cuts its tusks in the adjoining scene to the left, and higher up, hurries away with his trophy. Dr. Burgess (1, p. 50), who has identified this scene, compares this with the representation of the same story at Ajanta and the theme is more elaborately discussed by Foucher (1. pp. 185-204). The story of the sculpture is this :—

The Bodhisatta was once born as a noble elephant with six tusks and dwelt near the lily-covered lake Chaddanta in the Himalayas. He was the leader of a herd of eight thousand animals of his kind, and his principal queens were Cullasubhadda and Mahasubhadda, with whom he lived in a golden cave. One day being told that the Sal grove was in flower he proceeded there with his companions for enjoyment. When he struck a Sal tree in full bloom it so happened that dry twigs with red ants and leaves fell on Cullasubhadda who stood to windward and pollen-laden flowers and green leaves on Mahasubhadda who stood to leeward. The former resented this and, as she understood this to be an open declaration of her lord's love for Mahasubhadda, she conceived a grudge against him. On another occasion, when the elephants were bathing in the lake, one of them offered a large lotus with seven shoots to their chief who, in his turn, presented it to Mahasubhadda. This angered Cullasubhadda all the more

One day Cullasubhadda offered wild fruits to the Pacceka Buddhas who were entertained by her lord and put up a prayer that as a reward for her gift she should be born as the beautiful queen of the king of Benares so that she could wreak her vengeance on her lord, the elephant. From that moment she refrained from taking any food, died of starvation and was born as the beautiful queen of the king of Benares. She was the favourite of the king. One day recalling her former birth and desirous of punishing the chief of the elephants she wore a soiled robe and pretended to be sick. When her husband anxiously came to her bedside to enquire after her health, she had all the hunters assembled before her, and expressed her desire to have the tusks of an elephant with six tusks which she saw in a dream. She chose Sonuttara, one of the hardiest of the hunters, and showed him where to find the elephant. Provided with every requisite, he proceeded to the Himalayas, where, with great difficulty he cut his way through the jungle, noted the dwelling place of the elephant, dug a pit and covered it dexterously. As the elephant passed that way he hit it with a poisoned arrow from his hiding place in the pit. Mad with pain the animal looked around, and seeing the hunter dressed in the yellow robe of a monk, showed no signs of anger but simply asked and learnt from him the reason for his doing such a task. Knowing that the queen wanted not his tusks but only his life the elephant called the hunter to cut off his tusks. Since the man could not reach his tusks he lay on the ground with his head down. The hunter climbed up the trunk, and thrust the saw into the blood-smeared mouth of the animal, causing excruciating pain, but was unable to cut the tusks. The elephant then volunteered to cut them off himself, and when the saw was placed in such a position as to be held by his trunk,

which he was too weak to lift, he finished the task, and offered the tusks to the hunter to whom he explained how he gave away the tusks which he valued highly so that as a consequence of the merit thus gained he might attain tusks of omniscience.

The hunter carried the tusks to the queen of Benares who, the moment she saw them and heard of the animal's death, repented of her folly and remembering her dear lord in a former birth sorrowed greatly and died of a broken heart.

The lotuses in the lake where the elephants sport are most faithfully copied from nature and effectively used by the sculptor to represent water. The royal status of Chaddanta is suggested by the parasol held over him. The complex nature of wild life in the forest is suggested by the introduction of deer, lion and boar. In depicting the story the sculptor has resorted to the synoptic method so often met with in Amaravati sculptures. Chaddanta is first shown approaching the lake attended by his retinue. The scene lower down shows the animals enjoying their dip. To the left Chaddanta is slowly emerging from the water and higher up is walking away. The story is continued higher up from the extreme right. Shot by the wicked hunter hiding in the pit, the poor animal, mad with pain, turns to see the agent of the mischief. The next scene shows the heartless hunter sawing away the tusks of the noble animal that quietly and magnanimously submits to the horrible torture. Higher up the hunter hurries away with his booty.

This sculpture deviates from the text so far as the number of tusks and the manner of their acquisition by the hunter is concerned. For the elephant is shown with only a single pair of tusks and the hunter carries away only two pairs—a curious discrepancy even within the sculpture itself. And the hunter cuts them off, though according to the text the elephant does this, since such a task, *i.e.*, torturing oneself for the benefit of the torturer, is greater sacrifice than allowing oneself to be tortured for the same purpose, In the sculpture from Goli the hunter cuts the tusks as in the Amaravati sculpture (Ramachandran, T-N. 2, pl. 1 c). There are other sculptures and paintings at Sanchi and Ajanta representing the scene and in all of these the elephant cuts his tusks off himself, thus emphasising his magnanimity. But the Amaravati sculptor emphasizes this quality merely by showing the royal beast crouching on the ground to help the miserable hunter. The umbrella has been purposely included to heighten the pathos. The Amaravati sculptor aims at painting the hard-hearted hunter in the darkest colours possible and he has more than succeeded in his task.

To the back is a lotus medallion with Buddha's feet in central boss.

III B, 4. *The Love-smitten King, Cullabodhi Jātaka* (pl. xxxiii, fig. 3; also Burgess 1, pl. xi. fig. 2)—Top fragment of rail pillar showing two of the three usual upright panels below the upper half-lotus. The border of foliage (partially broken) issuing from mouth of the terminal makara has animal pairs arranged in the interspaces. In the panels below, the left one shows a woman being abducted by ruffians, someone raising a cudgel and another

almost suffocating someone with his arms around his neck. The next scene, which is divided from this by an arched gateway, shows some women standing (except the first two those behind are indicated by head contours) and others seated (the hand alone of the third woman is intact) on the ground near a king or prince seated at ease on a couch and attended by chauri-bearers, one of whom points out the standing woman to her lord and master. The rest of the sculpture is broken and lost.

The story represented in the sculpture may be identified as that of Bodhikumara and his wife (Jataka iv, No. 443. p, 13) which is briefly this :—

Once when Brahmadatta was king of Benares the Bodhisatta was born as the son of a wealthy couple. When he came of age and finished his studies at Takkasila his parents got him married to a damsel of surpassing beauty. But neither of them desired to marry ; so each led a life of strict celibacy. When his parents died the Bodhisatta and his wife decided to become recluses and, after distributing all their great wealth, set out, and soon made a hermitage for themselves in a pleasant spot, living only on roots and fruits. Thus they lived for ten years when they came to the countryside to get salt and seasoning. And, arriving at Benares, they abode in the royal park.

Now the king decided to make merry in the park, and thither he went with his retinue. When he saw the lovely woman he was smitten with love and asked the ascetic as to how she was related to him. Learning that she was nothing more to him than one sharing ascetic life with him, though she was his wife when he was a householder, the king again asked him what he would do if he took her away from him by force. The hermit replied coolly that he would "quench it while yet it be small."

And now the king ordered his men to carry her to the palace which was immediately done in spite of her cries against lawlessness and wrong. The Bodhisatta was, however, unruffled by this attitude of the king. The king also returned quickly to his palace and sending for the woman showed her great honour. But she spoke to him only of the sole worth of asceticism.

The king now tried to test the sage and approached him in the park. But the hermit was quietly stitching his cloak. The king mistook this for anger on his part and asked him why he was angry and silent. The monk, however, assured him that he was quite free from anger having quenched it even as he had told him he would do. The king pleased with his attitude restored the woman to him, invited them both to stay in the park, and honoured them greatly.

The sculpture, of which a large part is missing, shows, in the panel to the left the king's men carrying off the woman according to their master's orders. In the next panel she is brought towards the king by women of the king's harem. All the women have their hands clasped in adoration but this one alone rests her hand on one beside her and is despondent ; and she points out to the king that what he has done is a grave mistake.

III B, 5· & 6. *The Wicked King who chopped his Son into Bits, Culladhammapāla Jātaka* (pl. xxxvii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. vi, figs. 1 & 2). Fragment of rail pillar (III B, 5) showing part of a scene in circular medallion above and other scenes in three panels below, immediately above the lower half-lotus the top border of which is preserved. The scene in the medallion shows a king seated on his throne—the sculpture is broken above his waist—and before him below are a number of turbaned men. To the left a person of rank—probably a prince—is rushing away but is stopped by a number of men. In the panels below, the first scene to the left, partially mutilated, shows a lady fainting in the arms of another, two women hurrying away with a child in front, all making towards the door. Some figure pursues behind. In the next panel the trees on either side suggest a garden. A woman is seated, fondling a child on her lap that is rudely pulled by a royal-looking person. To the left above, a woman hugs a child and behind her another woman crouches for fear. Behind her again is another woman with hands joined in entreaty. To the right above the upraised hand of the brutal man, a woman droops with sorrow, and lower down a fainting woman is supported by another. Below this is a kneeling woman guarding her child. The last panel shows the fiendish man of the previous panel holding up a child in each hand. A man to the left curses his fate, another is trampled under foot, and a third, axe in hand—perhaps an executioner—awaits his master's pleasure.

The scenes in this sculpture answer the story of the little prince Dhammapala (Jataka iii, No. 358, p. 117) if we can allow for some adaptation. The story is briefly this :—

Once king Mahapatapa ruled Benares and his queen consort, Canda, bore him a son named Dhammapala who was no other than the Bodhisatta. One day the queen was playing with her little child who was seven months old when the king her husband came to her abode. Pre-occupied in her sport with the child whom she loved as only a fond mother knows how, she forgot to rise on seeing the king. The king noted this, took it to heart, pondered over it, and thinking that if she cared so little for him even as the mother of a seven-month old child she would be all the more proud and neglectful towards him when in time she became the mother of a youthful prince, he determined to prevent such a development and at once summoned the executioner to come with his axe.

When the executioner arrived he sent him to the queen's apartment to fetch the baby. The queen, who saw the king leave her in anger, sat weeping with her child on her bosom, when the executioner approached her and giving her a blow, snatched the child from her hand and took him to the king. The queen followed the executioner and pleaded for the child but the king's heart was of stone. He ordered the executioner to chop off the child's hands. The queen offered her own hands and requested him to desist from killing the poor innocent child, as, if there was any blame, it was all hers, and the child could not be punished for it.

But the king commanded the executioner to cut off the hands as he ordered and the deed was done. The queen placed the tender hands of the child on her lap and lamented. The king now ordered the executioner to lop off the feet of the child and finally the head was severed. He now asked the executioner to throw up the child in the air and catch him on the edge of the sword and thus cut him up into bits. Queen Canda placed all the bits of the child's flesh on her lap and as she lamented her heart broke and then and there she died. The earth opened and a mighty flame enveloped the wicked king who perished only to plunge into the Avici hell.

The scene in the first of the three panels below the broken medallion shows a noble lady fainting, and other ladies hurrying away with a child through a doorway. This appears to be queen Canda who faints at the approach of the terrible messenger of death for the child. The sculptor has here and in the subsequent scenes introduced certain additional elements to heighten the pathos of the story. The sculptor has introduced the queen's attendants as trying to protect the child by taking him away. The central scene is now in the park and the wicked king instead of sending the executioner, who is shown only in the next panel, himself pulls the child from the arms of the queen who is seated, the sculptor having again deviated from the story to emphasise the wickedness of the king and has made him go personally for the child. The other women on both sides, hugging the child and all looking at the king in great fear, are the queen's attendants, and the pathetic attempt of each one to save the child is shown synoptically in the one panel. In the next panel the king is wildly flinging the child up and asking the executioner to kill him. Here again there seems to be a slight deviation from the text to emphasise the cruelty of the king. A man to the right is an additional executioner, introduced by the sculptor as a good man who has not the heart to kill the child, because of which the king crushes him even as he passes the child over from the hands of this good man to the wicked executioner of the story who stands axe in hand ready to do the bloody deed.

The back shows the usual lotus medallion and three lovely dwarfs the central one carrying a pair of rattles in each hand. The edges have lenticular cavities for cross-bars. As Dr. Burgess has shown by piecing together the fragments, this and another are parts of the same pillar.

Lower fragment of rail pillar (III B, 6) with half-lotus on border composed of terminal makaras and two lions facing a central pattern.

On the back the half-lotus is more fragmentary but the border below is interesting as it shows two *jalebhas*, quaint animals with fore part of elephant and hind part of fish, as terminals, besides two elephants and foliage. This and the previous one (III B, 5) must have formed a single piece of the rail pillar before it broke into parts as is shown by Dr. Burgess in the illustration in his book (pl. vi).

III B, 7. *The Story of the Messenger, Dūta Jātaka* (pl. lii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, fig. 15 on p. 59).—Coping fragment showing a king (much defaced) on a *pallanka* resting his feet on a footstool while a number of persons are in attendance. A youth standing to his right is watching a suppliant below. The *pratīhārī* stands beside the prince and further back a lady is entering the chamber and descending the steps with a bowl in her hand. Of the other figures one is standing with crossed hands, another carries a tray and there are two more on either side of the old *kañcuki*, all watching the king, while a chauri on the mutilated shoulder and broken head is all that remains of a chauri-bearer, the last figure at the mutilated end. The panel has a border of lotuses on top, of leaves on the left, and animal and creeper pattern below.

The scene depicted in the carving is probably from the Duta Jataka (ii, No. 260, p. 221) and the story is briefly as follows :—

The Bodhisatta was born as the prince of Benares and succeeded his father to the kingdom. He was very dainty in his eating and was known as king Dainty. The dishes he tasted were exceedingly costly and it was his wont to partake of his food in the company of many princesses and attendants in a special jewelled pavilion on the open to enable people to witness the grandeur of his feast.

One day a greedy man desired to taste the king's food and girding up his loins he ran through the crowd calling "Messenger! Messenger!" which served as a password, and soon he approached the king, and taking a little from the king's dish tasted it. The swordsman close by raised his weapon to smite but the king intervened and allowed him to finish his meal. After the meal the king caused his own drinking water to be given him and later asked him what tidings he had brought. The man immediately replied that he was a messenger from Lust and the Belly and explained how all on earth were under their sway. The king realising the truth of the statement was highly pleased and rewarded the man.

The carving shows the king seated in a pavilion amidst his attendants including the *kañcuki*. Opposite the king is a low circular table with large plate—badly mutilated—for food. One of the attendants at the left top has a vessel filled with food; another woman is approaching the king at the left end with food in a bowl—all dainty fare for the king. There is a man kneeling at the king's feet. Immediately behind him is a youth of noble appearance with a strap from which hangs a sword—the swordsman of the story. The *pratīhārī* has also a sword ready for action if there be need for it. The king is turning his face towards the swordsman and has evidently stopped him from killing the greedy man —that he is very hungry is suggested by the folds on his belly which is shrunk—who is kneeling at his feet, fearing death as the penalty for his folly, but is reassured by the king who orders more food and water as may be seen to the extreme left.

III B, 8. *Ghoshaka the Fortunate, Ghoshakaseṭṭhi Uppatti* (pl. lvii, fig. 3).—Fragment of coping showing a man asleep on a couch in an upper apartment of a house, his head resting on a fine pillow. He is approached by a woman with a lamp in her hand. It is evidently night. Below this there are men and women on either side of a narrow wagon-roofed structure. One of the women has a fan of the type usual in royal courts and a large turban can be discerned in the mutilated figure of the man in the group. To the left is an arched gateway.

The carving appears to represent a scene from Ghoshaka's life narrated in the Dhammapad-attakatha (i, p. 256). The story is briefly as follows :—

Ghoshaka was the cast away son of a courtesan of Kosambi, found by a man as he lay on a dust heap surrounded by crows and dogs. The man took kindly to the child and gave him to the care of his wife. The treasurer of the city heard from his priest that a child born that day would succeed him as treasurer and he made haste to learn whether his pregnant wife was delivered of a child. Learning that she had not yet given birth to a child he sent a slave woman to scour the city and procure for him the fortunate boy born that day so that if a daughter was born to him she could be married to the boy and if a son this rival boy could be killed. The slave woman procured the newborn child by bribing the woman who had him in her care and on the orders of the treasurer, who had in the meantime become the father of a boy, left the child at the gate of the cowpen to be trampled to death by the herd. The child miraculously escaped and was carried home by the herdsmen from whom again the child was wheedled to be thrown in a wheeltrack. Even here the child escaped death and was picked up by the caravan leader. The child was again procured by the treasurer, this time for being left in bushes in the burning ground where a she-goat gave him suck thus attracting the attention of the goatherd who carried him off as a prize. The child was again bought off and thrown down a precipice. but escaping death, he again came into the hands of the wicked treasurer, and grew up in spite of his attempts at his life. The treasurer though frustrated in his attempts was yet planning Ghoshaka's death and bribed a potter to kill his "base-born son" as he termed Ghoshaka whom he sent to him the following day. But as fortune would have it the treasurer's son asked the unsuspecting Ghoshaka, sent on an errand to the potter, to take his place in a game of marbles and win him the game he had lost, offering to go in his stead to the potter. The potter unwittingly did the worst and Ghoshaka escaped death again. The frustrated and heart-broken treasurer now tried with redoubled vigour to plan Ghoshaka's death and sent him with a letter instructing the superintendent of his hundred villages to kill him. The youth, who little knew what was in store for him, started on his journey and on the way, stopped as instructed, at a village, to rest in the house of a friend of the treasurer, also a treasurer. The treasurer's wife received the youth with whom she was charmed, and asked a slave girl to attend to his comforts. The treasurer's beautiful young daughter was annoyed at the delay of the slave

girl whom she had sent out on an errand and learning from her that she was engaged in spreading a couch for the newly arrived guest was immediately suffused with love for the youth who had been her husband in their previous births. Learning from the slave girl that he was asleep on the couch, with a letter fastened to his garment, she approached him stealthily, and detached the letter as he lay asleep. Pitying the simple youth who carried his own death warrant, she tore it up, and in its stead wrote a fresh one instructing the superintendent of villages to get Ghoshaka married to the district treasurer's daughter, meaning herself, and to build him a two-storied house with protection and guard. When Ghoshaka completed his journey, everything ended well for him, to the utter consternation of the treasurer, who later sickened and died, leaving all his property to Ghoshaka, quite against his will, all due to the manœuvring of Ghoshaka's clever wife ; and soon king Udena made Ghoshaka the treasurer in the place of his late foster father.

The scene in the sculpture shows the daughter of the district treasurer stealthily approaching Ghoshaka lying fast asleep on a couch. She is carrying a lamp in her hand and is evidently peering at him and looking for the letter whose contents she is anxious to peruse The carving below this is fragmentary but the turbaned man amidst the women appears to be the superintendent of the villages conducting the treasurer's daughter to the newly built house to be married to Ghoshaka. The next scene where two women can be seen appears to be a continuation of the story.

III B, 9. *The Story of Kavikumāra. Kavikumārāvadāna* (pl. xlviii, fig. 2 ; also Burgess 1, pl. xxvii, fig. 1).—Fragment of coping stone showing a village of wagon-roofed huts beyond which is a corpse surrounded by mourners. People on horseback are approaching the village in haste. To the left is a man with a huge bundle conversing with a man and woman. Further to the right he has emptied his bundle and is dusting his cloth the fringe of which is trampled by a youth who is rushing away.

The sculptured scenes here may be identified as from the Kavikumara avadana in the Avadanakalpalata. The story as given by Kshemendra (ii, chap. lxvi, p. 456) is briefly as follows :—

There was once a king of Pancala, Satyarata by name, who, defeated in his desire for progeny by his first queen Lakshana, married a second wife Sudharma. But after this new marriage the first queen gave birth to a son, Alolamantra. Sudharma conceived after a time, but the king passed away before the child was born. The son of Lakshana succeeded his father to the throne. The king's astrologer predicted the death of this king at the hands of the yet unborn son of Sudharma, and afraid of the king's displeasure Sudharma sought and obtained the protection of the chief minister. The son born of her was secreted by her in the dwelling of fishermen, and a baby girl was presented to the king who thought no more of the absurd prediction.

The boy, however, being known as Kavikumara, grew up among fisher boys and shone in all royal glory, learned in all arts and sciences. The royal astrologer noted the boy and informed the king that his source of danger was alive. The king at once called his minister, told him how the boy was among the fishermen, and asked him to busy himself about destroying him. The minister, sorry for his past negligence, sent an army of men to catch the youth.

Sudharma, however, called her son in secret and giving him a crest-jewel, warned him of the danger and asked him to run away for safety. The minister, however, saw the crest gem, recognised the prince and set the men after him. The prince ran pursued by them and plunged into the lake, the abode of the naga Campaka. By the power of the jewel on his head he was not drowned, and the naga welcomed and offered him protection. But soon, terrified by the king's soldiers who threatened to fill the watery abode of the naga, Campaka hastily requested him to leave the place after sunset. The prince escaped from the lake and sought shelter in a washerman's dwelling. Even here he was traced through his footprints and the terrified washerman took up the bundle in which he lay hidden and left him in a far off place whence he sought shelter in a potter's house biding his time to strike. Here also the soldiers pursued him. The potters therefore wrapped him in cloth and flowers as in the case of a dead body and weeping and wailing left him in a desolate place as though he were a corpse. Pursued even here he ran and in the hurry fell into a great pit and his crest-jewel was caught in a creeper. The minister thinking that that was the last of him returned to the king with the crest-jewel. But Kavikumara was saved from the pit by a yaksha and after other adventures was finally saved by a sage, Mathura, with whose help he acquired mastery over some magic arts; and disguised as a dansuese he returned to his own kingdom, where, after overcoming and killing his step-brother, who was blindly infatuated with him in his strange guise, he succeeded him to the throne.

The sculpture represents a number of soldiers on horseback pursuing the prince in a village. To the left a washerman is standing with a big bundle on his back which obviously conceals the prince. To the right the washerman has released the prince from the bundle and he is speedily running away from the soldiers. To the top on the right a corpse is surrounded by mourners[1]. This is how the potter secretly arranged for the escape of the prince. The further scenes in the story are lost as the stone is not complete.

At the top is an inscription for details of which see p. 291.

The back shows the usual garland carried by two bearers (badly weathered and multilated) and in the bight are three lion busts carried by three dwarf yakshas. The pattern on the square shield on the garland is too far damaged to be made out.

[1] Following the description of Burgess (1, p. 61) that this figure is "in the habit of a Bauddha monk, stretched out as if dead, upon a bier" Bacchofer has identified this as representation of Buddha's Parinirvana which is not acceptable.

III B, 10. *Māra obstructs Pacceka Buddha's Feeding, Khadirāngara Jataka* (pl. lviii, fig. 4 ; also Burgess 1, pl. xiv, fig. 2).—Fragment of rail pillar showing scenes in two of the three upright panels occurring between half lotus and lotus medallions. To the left a man is striding powerfully on the hoods of a serpent above which is an adoring figure. Standing beside both is a man carrying a pole with something wound round it. To the right a man is proceeding forward with a woman following him, her hands joined in adoration. The head of a person in their company may also be seen. The scene though broken here was once more complete and in the photo illustrated by Dr. Burgess the advancing person is seen carrying a bowl to feed a monk who is seated fully robed ready to receive it.

The scenes in the panels of this fragment of sculpture, which were published by Dr. Burgess (1, pl. xiv, fig. 2) and were less mutilated and more complete than now, may be identified as representing the story of the treasurer who fed a Pacceka Buddha in spite of obstacles caused by Mara (Jatakai, No. 40, p. 103). The story is this :—

Once the Bodhisatta was born as the son of the Lord High Treasurer of Benares and was brought up in the most magnificent manner. When he succeeded his father in his office he used his wealth for building almonries and was very bountiful.

One day a Pacceka Buddha who had just risen from a seven days trance approached the Treasurer through the air just as the Bodhisatta's breakfast was carried in for him. The Bodhisatta observing the Pacceka Buddha asked his attendant to fetch him his bowl to be filled with food.

But Mara had calculated that the Pacceka Buddha who had risen after a week's trance would die if he did not get food that day, so tried to stop the Treasurer from feeding him. For this purpose he created a pit of red-hot embers at the attendant's feet, and himself stood in mid-air. This frightened the attendant who returned to his master. Other men sent by the Bodhisatta fared no better than the first.

The Bodhisatta now determined to try his strength against that of Mara and with firm resolve himself took a bowl and approaching the pit addressed Mara asking him why he created the pit of embers. Undaunted by Mara's threat the Bodhisatta with firm resolution and full belief in the Pacceka Buddha strode on over the surface of the pit of fire thus defeating Mara. But as he did so a large lotus sprang up to receive the feet of the Bodhisatta who now emptied his dainty food into the bowl of the Pacceka Buddha.

This fragmentary sculpture was less mutilated when studied by Dr. Burgess and can now only be identified with the aid of his figure. The panel to the left shows the Bodhisatta striding on a huge stone beside a multi-headed snake-hood behind which is turbaned man with hands clasped in adoration and accepting defeat. We know from other examples of his type of figure as in the story of Mandhata (fig. xxxiii, fig. 1 a) that this is a favourite device of the Amaravati sculpture to represent obstacles which the powerfully striding person above

overcomes, even as the garuda overcomes the naga. In the next panel the Bodhisatta accompanied by his wife—here introduced by the sculptor for enhancing the interest—feeds the Pacceka Buddha who is shown seated.

This, the previous one, and another piece now lost are obviously parts of one pillar as given in the photograph reproduced by Dr. Burgess.

III B. 11. *The Elephant Mahilāmukha is taught Virtue, Mahilāmukha Jataka* (pl. li, figs. 1 & 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xxvii, fig. 2 and pl. xlix, fig. 1)—Coping fragment broken towards the left end. The scene to the right shows a king in his palace on his throne attended by three women carrying fan and whisk and is in consultation with four counsellors two of whom are seated on circular cane seats. Outside the city gateway, which is close to the chamber where the king is seated, an elephant is subdued by a mahout. There are two sturdy ugly men beside the animal. In the foreground are other men of comely appearance.

The scene on this fragment of coping may be identified[1] with the story of the elephant Mahilamukha, Damsel-face Jataka i, No. 25, p. 68) which is a follows :—

Once when Brahmadatta was reigning at Benares the Bodhisatta was his wise minister. The king's state elephant was a noble animal named Mahilamukha that never did any harm to anyone.

One day some thieves came at night to the elephant stall, discussed their plan and agreed amongst themselves that the attitude of burglars should be one of cruelty and violence. They repeated their visits, and soon the elephant by constantly listening to them thought that they were coming just to teach him lessons in violence. Accordingly he grew violent and cruel, defying his mahout and all that approached him.

The king soon learnt that his favourite elephant had gone mad and was killing people. He therefore sent his minister to find out the reason for this sudden change.

The Bodhisatta came and examined the animal. Satisfying himself that there was nothing wrong with him, he concluded the elephant should have listened to wicked talk. He therefore asked the elephant keepers whether anyone had come and discussed in the elephant stall by night. They replied that burglars had come there and talked. The Bodhisatta was now satisfied about the reason for the amimal's attitude and explaining all this to the king suggested that good men should sit in the elephant stall and talk everything good. Soon good men approached the stall, took their seat near the elephant, and talked of love and mercy. The elephant, hearing their talk and thinking that all this was intended as a lesson for him, thenceforth became good and loving.

The king learning of the new attitude of the animal rejoiced and thanked the Bodhisatta his wise minister who could read the mind even of an animal, and honoured him greatly.

1 This sculpture has been identified by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy as representing scenes from Chaddanta Jataka (p. 223, fig. 13, pl. cxxv in Early Indian Architecture, Cities and City Gateways, Eastern Art, Vol. ii). But this does not appear possible.

The sculpture shows the king in his court with the Bodhisatta seated near him. He is probably the one with the *yogapaṭṭa*—sign of a sage who meditates in a firm attitude with a band round his leg—to the left. In the scene to the left the elephant is defying the mahout, who is shown goad in hand, after listening to burglars, the two ugly and sturdy men shown on either side of the animal. Lower down good men are shown pleasant and comely in appearance. They are for converting the unruly beast.

For details of a fragment of inscription on top, see p. 291.

The back shows a most beautifully carved giant resembling a dwarf yaksha into whose mouth two normal yakshas thrust a flower garland while another from behind pulls at his superbly fashioned turban just over the ear. The bight is occupied by the foreparts of three elephants supporting a tray containing a *pūrṇaghaṭa* which Dr. Burgess suggests may be the Buddhist "precious vase" *āmala karaka* or *āmala karki* (Burgess 1, p. 62). A circular shield without decoration is carved on the magnificent flower garland.

III B, 12. *The story of Mittavindaka the Unfortunate One, Losaka Jātaka* (pl. xlvi, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xlix, fig. 2).—Coping fragment with the scene laid in the country (*janapada*). A village is suggested by thatched huts. A man and a woman are standing behind a fence each with a baby. On the other side of the fence the man stands with two boys, the babes grown up. A boy is eating food as a woman is cooking—the same woman as the one with a child in the previous scene. Cavaliers and footsoldiers approach the scene and a warrior seated with a sword in his hand is addressing an elephant, with mahout on his head, that is struck in the mud or wading in a pool, beside a tree in the hollow of which is to be seen the head of the tree spirit.

The sculpture has been identified as representing the Vessantara Jataka but Rene Grousset is not sure of the identification and has given this title for the sculpture with a query. It is surely not a representation of Vessantara Jataka and may be identified as depicting the story of Mittavindaka, the unfortunate one, which according to the Losaka Jataka (i, No. 41, pp. 107-111) is briefly as follows:—

Out of excessive greed and jealousy a brother drove an elder to the necessity of fleeing from a monastery where a common host provided for both. As a result of this sin the brother suffered in many a birth as a despicable creature. Finally he was born of beggarly parents in a village in Benares where from the moment of his birth his ill-luck made his family go from bad to worse. Disgusted with this curse on their home the hungry parents turned him out as a source of misfortune. Wandering about in various places he reached Benares. Here many poor lads were fed by the Benares-folk and encouraged to study in that city under a world-famed teacher. Mittavindaka, the unlucky lad, also became a charity scholar, but his hot temper soon made him quarrel with his fellow students, so that he became a nuisance both to the teacher and the taught. Finally he ran away to a border village where he married

a miserably poor woman and had two children by her. The villagers gave him a hut to dwell in at the entrance of the village and paid him to be their teacher. But after he came to live with them the king's vengeance fell seven times on the villagers. Seven times their homes were burnt and seven times their water-tank dried up. This made the villagers realise that he was ill-luck personified and he was driven away from the village with blows. His further wanderings and his meeting with his old preceptor of Benares, who rescued him from an awkward situation, do not concern us here.

The sculpture represents Mittavindaka with his miserably poor wife. This is the only woman among the many sculptures from Amaravati whose headgear is plain without the least ornamentation (pl. vi, fig. 8). There are two new-born children held by the couple in their hands. Lower down the children are slightly grown up. The woman is cooking to the right and one of the boys is eating. The boundary wall is shown as also huts answering the description that the hut of Mittavindaka was near entrance of the village. The village *caitya vṛksha* with deity represented in the trunk hollow close by outside the village remind us of the description of the location of the *caitya vṛksha* near city or village given in the Meghaduta of Kalidasa. That the tank is dry is shown by the elephant moving with difficulty in the mire. This animal obviously belongs to the retinue of the officers of the king shown close by on horses and on foot. They are here shown to suggest their carrying out the orders of the king whose anger fell on these villagers after Mittavindaka came to live amidst them.

III B, 13. *The story of the Virtuous Prince, Mahāpaduma Jātaka* (pl. xlix, fig. 2; also Burgess I, pl. xxvii. fig. 3).—Coping fragment showing scenes in three panels of which the one to the right is greatly mutilated and shows only a lake full of lotuses; in the second an ascetic is seated in front of his hut adored by a nagaraja, nagini and some other. There is a stupa in the vicinity. A man is climbing up a tree and an animal is jumping up towards him. The third panel shows the naga couple and a third whose form is too far gone to be well made out—the trunk appears feminine, can it be another nagini ?—rise out of the lotus-laden lake. A hermitage is in the vicinity.

The story from which the scene is carved in this broken piece of the coping of the rail can best be understood by a look at pl. xlv of Longhurst's Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda. It is this plate that gives the clue to the identification of this piece. The story is of the prince Padumakumara (Jataka iv, No. 742, p. 116) :—

Padumakumara, the son of Brahmadatta, the King ot Benares, early in his life lost his mother, whose place was taken up by a step-mother. Once the king set out to quell a revolt in the frontier of his kingdom. On his victorious return, the prince decorated the city and went to receive the victor who was camping outside the city. When the prince came to the palace to take leave of his step-mother she was enamoured of his great beauty

and requested him to yield himself to her lust. But the prince who was of a righteous temperament refused to yield to her entreaties and threats. The queen now pretended to be ill, scratched her body, wore a soiled garment, and bade her attendants inform the king of her condition when he asked them. The king on his arrival at the palace made inquiries about the queen and learning that she was ill went to her apartment. Here he was told by his wicked wife that prince Paduma had wounded her on her refusal to sin with him, which so infuriated the king that he straightaway got him bound hand and foot to be hurled down from the top of the Thieves' Cliff. The prince was hurried away thus in spite of the protests and lamentations of all the ladies of the harem, the nobles of the realm and the citizens who well knew his sweet nature.

But the deity of the mountain comforted the innocent prince, and even as he was hurled from the mountain top, caught him in both his hands, and gave him to the king of the nagas who entertained him in his realm with great glory for a year. At the end of the year, the prince renounced the world for a religious life and returned to the Himalayas with the consent of his host, the naga king, who conducted him thither and settled him in his life as an anchorite.

A certain wood ranger from Benares happened to see him and recognising the person of the prince of the realm in the anchorite reported the matter to the king. The king desiring to see his son proceeded thither and met him near his hut of leaves. In his conversation with him, the king learnt how his son was miraculously saved by the naga king, and requested him to return to the kingdom and rule it; but the young anchorite who had conquered all such desires preferred his mode of life to life in the royal palace and preached to his father the essence of righteousness. Sad at heart, the king returned, and learning from his courtiers the conduct of the queen in regard to the prince, had her punished as she deserved.

But for the earlier scene of the prince being thrown down from the cliff, preserved in the sculpture from Nagarjunakonda, the later scene on the same slab, and that on the piece of coping from Amaravati could not be understood. Even in the first scene there is a deviation from the story in the manner in which the prince was hurled down. He is shown falling naturally, not head downwards as in the story. Only a small fragment of this scene is preserved in the sculpture from Amaravati. The lower part of the next scene, somewhat fragmentary in the slab from Nagarjunakonda, is more complete in the Amaravati sculpture. The earlier scene of the story in the Amaravati sculpture, though almost completely lost shows enough of the nagaraja and his consort who are looking up, obviously for rescuing the prince caught in the arms of the mountain deity and this is clearly seen in the more complete sculpture from Nagarjunakonda. They are rising from a lotus pond near a mountain the rugged rocks of which are seen even in the fragment that is left. The scene to the right shows the hermit near his hut. The snake king, his consort and another person,

perhaps a disciple, are adoring him. A stupa is beside the hut as in the Nagarjunakonda slab, were a double umbrella above the stupa is an additional feature. Stupas were common even before the time of Buddha and religious edifices near hermitages enhance their sanctity. A man is seen perched on a tree observing these persons, himself unobserved. This should be the forest ranger from Benares. A deer is shown skipping about in the vicinity and takes the place of the monkeys in the panels from Nagarjunakonda. These animals are introduced for suggesting the peaceful atmosphere of the hermitage where all animals frisk quite gaily afraid of no human interference and trouble. This scene is again a departure from the story, this time an entirely new innovation altogether. The greatness of the sage is emphasised by making his benefactor, the naga king come to him to adore him, which reverence he eminently deserves, as according to the story he developed supernatural faculties. It is this departure from the story that requires the previous scene to elucidate the latter one.

The sculpture on the back shows the usual flower garland.

III B, 14. *Māndhata the Universal Monarch* (pl. xxxiii, figs. 1 and 2; also Burgess I, pl. v, figs. 1 & 2).—Rail pillar broken at the top and the right edge. Above a border of creeper issuing from the mouths of makara terminals, with two lions facing each other between the foliage, is a half lotus; in the first of the three panels above it a king is seated on his throne attended by turbaned chauri-bearers—important as suggestive of the rank of the king—listening to a minister seated near him and others; in the central panel the chief figure is a mighty king with queen, counsellor, horse, elephant and wheel of authority; the third panel shows the king accompanied by the same counsellor as in the previous scene, advancing, treading on a large slab surrounded by the hoods of a snake from which issues a man with hands joined in adoration. In front of him near an arched gateway stand men with upraised right hand and poles with thread wound round them in their left. They wear matted hair coiled up in a knot. Above the panel is circular medallion with a nimbate king seated on a grand lion throne under a tree addressing a number of noble-looking men of divine aspect. In the three panels above which are mutilated to the left an elephant (the top including the driver is broken and lost) is advancing in the air and brave men are flying in front of it; in the centre two sovereigns of rank are seated on a single long throne; to the right a mutilated feminine figure can be discerned but little else is preserved.

The central panel of the carving coming lowest on this upright has been identified by Coomaraswamy (9, p. 74) and Bachhofer (2, pl. 115 and explanation) as Cakravarti Maharaja the example of which is Mandhata. But the rest of the scenes also relate to the same story and the central medallion should not be identified as depicting the Bodhisattva in Tushita heaven. The story of Mandhata given in the Pali Jataka is rather short and the longer Sanskrit version is given in Schiefner's Tibetan tales (pp. 1-20);

Mandhata by the excellence of his merit acquired the seven jewels of the Cakravarti emperor. These were the wheel, the elephant, the horse, the gem, the queen, the prince and the minister. When he clenched his left hand and touched it with his right there was a shower of jewels. Many thousands of years he was a prince and then a reigning sovereign His feelings for animals was such that he banished from his realm certain sages that enfeebled by their curse noisy cranes that disturbed their penance. Showers of grain, cotton and cloth, he caused in his kingdom to relieve his subjects of the drudgery of husbandry and weaving. Seven days he caused a continuous downpour of jewels in his palace courtyard. Yet his desires were not satiated. He wanted something higher than the sovereignty of the land of mortals. Purvavidehadvipa, Aparagodavyadvipa and Uttarakuru he ruled successfully for many long years. He had only to think of sovereignty over those territories to become master of them all. Finding from his attendant, the yaksha Divoukasa, that there remained no more unsubdued Dvipas, he proceeded towards the abode of the thirty-three gods. On the way five hundred rshis delayed the progress of his hosts and, learning of this from his minister, he deprived them of their matted locks and commanded them to march in front of him with bows and arrows in their hands. They were released from this odious task only by the intervention of the queen who took kindly towards them. Later his path was obstructed by water-inhabiting nagas whom he subdued similarly by his command. Finally he ascended the summit of Sumeru and saw the divine trees Parijata and Kovidara under which the thirty-three gods enjoyed themselves to their hearts' content. Here under the trees he asked his followers to enjoy themselves like the gods. Finally he entered Sudharma, the hall of the gods, and Sudarsana their city. Here seats were arranged for the gods of which the last was for the mortal king. But Mandhata desired half of the seat of Sakka and immediately Sakka gave up a half of his throne for him ; and when he occupied the seat he was as lustrous as the king of the gods. In this manner he continued to enjoy heavenly bliss for a long period during which many Sakras with spent-up merit gave up their seats to fresh successors. Finally there was a war between the gods and demons in which the former were worsted by the latter. Mandhata stopped Sakra who was preparing to go to meet the demons and himself proceeded with a large following and twanged his mighty bow. That sound was enough to drive terror into the hearts of the demons who immediately fled. Now Mandhata in the flush of victory thought himself superior to Sakra and desired the kingdom of the gods all for himself. This desire put an end to all the powers of his merit and down he descended to earth, old and feeble, and lay on his deathbed conveying to the world through his ministers a lesson against avarice illustrated through his life-story.

The first panel of the broken part of the upright shows a king or prince in his palace surrounded by his courtiers. He is Mandhata the mortal king. The next panel shows him with his seven treasures standing in all his glory with his hand upraised—in all the

representations of the Cakravarti Maharaja the best example of which is the one from Jaggayyapeta[1] the king raises his hand for a shower of jewels and coins caused by touching the clenched left hand as in the text, emphasis being however on the raised hand. The third panel shows the king proceeding along trampling a snake king and defying a number of religious men, evidently the nagas and the rshis of the story. The central medallion shows the king seated under the heavenly trees and enjoying the sweets of heavenly life with his followers. This is only promised in the story but is actually depicted in the sculpture. The sculpture at the top shows the elephant of the Uposatha class that the emperor is riding. Here the seat is reminiscent of the Cakravartin of the Kalingabodhi Jataka who rides a similar elephant. The yaksha Divoukasa is proceeding along beside the elephant. The central panel shows Sakra giving up half his seat for Mandhata and both are seated together on the same throne.

On the back there are some feet of mutilated figures at the top, the usual lotus medallion, three dwarfs in the usual panels below, the central one dancing and the one to the right holding a club much too long for him. Below the wavy pattern under their feet is the usual half lotus over a border of foliage and makara terminals, two elephants and a deer centrally arranged disturbing the monotony of foliage pattern.

III B, 15. *The Story of Mātanga, Mātanga Jātaka*—pl. lii. fig. 1; also Burgess 1 pl. xxviii, figs. 4 & 5).—Fragment of coping with sculptures on both sides. Immediately beneath the lotus pattern border above are three scenes visible and of the scenes below which are lost there is just a royal fan sticking out into the last panel above. In the panel to the extreme right a woman is carrying a man and is followed by another woman. In the next panel the woman is bowing to the man who occurs in the first panel. Two other woman stand aside and offer the man their respects. The next panel shows the legs and trunk of a man soaring above house tops.

This fragmentary sculpture from the rail coping may be identified as showing scenes from the Jataka of Matanga (iv, No. 497, p. 235). The story which is à rather long one is as follows :—

Once the Bodhisatta was born as the son of an outcaste (Candala) and was called Matanga. Because of his great wisdom the word " wise " was prefixed to his name. About that time there was a merchant at Benares whose daughter Ditthamangalika used to spend a pleasant day in a park with her companions almost every month. It so happened that as she started for the park one day with her retinue Matanga came that way. Learning that he was an outcaste she considered his presence ominous and without proceeding any further turned back. Her companions who were disappointed in their hopes of enjoying a day

[1] T. N. Ramachandran, Sculpture from Jaggayyapeta in Proceedings of Seventh Oriental Conference, Baroda : A Buddhist relief from Nagarjunakonda in G. V. Ramamoorthy Pantulu Volume, pp. 105 to 110.

in the park beat poor Matanga till he fell down senseless. When he regained consciousness he felt how unjustly he was beaten by the companions of Ditthamangalika and resolved to get her somehow. With this determination he went to her house where he lay down at the door asking only for Ditthamangalika. Six days he lay thus and on the seventh she was brought out to be given to him. When she asked him to get up so that she might accompany him to his house he saw that he was too weak to get up and desired her to take him on her back and carry him to the outcaste colony which she did whilst the eyes of every townsman was on her.

After some days spent in their house in strict celibacy Matanga entrusted Ditthamangalika to the care of his household and entering the forest lived the life of an ascetic. In seven days he developed supernatural faculties, and returning home to comfort his wife, who bewailed her husband turning monk, he asked her, before he left again for the Himalayas, to tell everyone that asked about him that he was away in Brahma's heaven, whence in seven days he would come back breaking the disc of the full moon. On the appointed day he broke through the lunar disc and filling the city with a strange light he moved in the sky, received the worship of the adoring crowd that gathered to see the miracle, and proceeding to his house in the outcastes' suburb touched the navel of his wife who immediately conceived. He then foretold the greatness of her son to be born and departed. The devotees now assembled around her, offered her great worship and built a special pavilion for her to dwell in. Here she gave birth to a child called Mandavya Kumara. From his youth he took delight in feeding continually thousands of Brahmans and bestirred himself giving directions while they were fed. Matanga who saw from his seat on the Himalayas what his son was doing disapproved this attitude on his part and with a resolve to make him give gifts only to persons worthy of the gifts came dressed in rags, earthen bowl in hand, to beg of Mandavya for alms. The latter however did not like his appearance and showered on him a volume of contumely asking his men to cast out the low-caste churl as he styled him. But before they approached him, he rose up in the air, out of their reach and, proceeding to a hall, began to partake of food. The city deities, meantime, furious at the affront shown the sage, punished Mandavya and his men by twisting their necks. Being told of this incident, Ditthamangalika proceeded to her husband, pacified him, and with the elixir of life given by him brought back to life her son and the others, whom she enlightened on the merits of gifts to the deserving.

The sculpture illustrating the story has three scenes. The first shows Ditthamangalika carrying Matanga to the outcaste settlement. A woman who is watching is probably one of her companions and presumably represents the citizens.

The second panel shows Matanga who returned to the outcaste settlement after obtaining supernatural faculties in the forest. He is met by Ditthamangalika who weeps and asks him why he deserted her to become an ascetic. The two persons with Ditthamangalika

are obviously the members of Matanga's household to whose care he had entrusted her when he went to the forest. He is shown comforting Ditthamangalika by promising to make her glorious.

The third panel, of which not much remains, shows the mutilated body of someone flying down from heaven to the lower regions. It is obviously the outcaste Matanga, who, according to his promise to Ditthamangalika, came down from the moon at the appointed time and thrice made a circuit above the city of Benares. The devoted crowd that admired and adored him must have been carved lower down but is now broken and missing.

The back of this shows a lovely lotus border on top, part of the mutilated head of a giant resembling a dwarf yaksha from whose mouth must have issued the flower garland of which just a little is preserved. In the bight three dwarfs dance.

III B. 16. *The Peacock preaches the Law, Mora Jātaka* (pl. xxxii figs. 1 and 2; also Burgess 1, pl. viii, figs. 1 and 2).—Lower part of rail pillar with central medallion (partially broken), three panels below, and half lotus on border of foliage issuing from mouths of terminal makaras at the bottom. The medallion shows a king seated with a lady on either side of him (all the figures are broken above the waist) on a single long seat, his leg and that of one of the ladies resting on a footrest being provided with a cushion. A lady is seated at ease on a wicker seat to the right and an attendant woman to the left offers something. In the foreground is a pleasure pond full of lotuses. In the panel to the right, the king is attended by a chauri-bearer and a woman with a fan, as he is seated with his minister near him; and he listens to someone respectfully addressing him kneeling all the time. In the central panel the king, flanked by the two ladies and with a child in his lap, adores a peacock beyond above which is a seated monk. In the third panel (partly mutilated at the extreme left) are three human figures beside a tree, one of them kneeling before a fourth figure, seated on a chair (of whom but little is left).

The story carved in the panels of this upright has been identified by Foucher (2, p. 15) as that of the Mora Jataka. The story runs thus :—

Once when Brahmadatta ruled Benares the Bodhisatta was born as a peacock. It was so fair and golden-hued that it feared trouble from the hunters and as a measure of safety it lived far away on a golden hill in Dandaka. Every morning and evening it repeated a charm in praise of the Sun and the Buddhas. This charm protected it from all evil. It so happened that, in spite of these precautions, the bird was noticed by a hunter who told of it to his son. At this time Khema, the queen of the ruler of Benares, dreamt of a golden peacock discoursing on the law. She informed the king of this and desired to hear a golden peacock preach. The king called his courtiers and Brahmans and enquired of them whether any such bird existed on earth. On their advice he sent for hunters and on enquiry learnt of its existence from the one who knew about it. Being asked to get it the hunter

set snares and tried all his life to catch it but did not succeed. Queen Khema died with her desire unfulfilled. The king, her husband, in his anger caused an inscription to be incised on a golden plate giving out that any one who ate of the flesh of the golden peacock on the hill in Dandaka would become young and immortal. This he left for his successors every one of whom tried to get the bird. After six successive kings who were unsuccessful in catching the bird came a seventh who also sent a hunter to Dandaka. This time the hunter observed that it was the charm the peacock repeated that protected it from the snare. He therefore got a trained peahen which at the clap of his hand uttered a cry. The golden peacock in its joy at the sound of the note of the peahen forgot to repeat the charm and rushed towards her only to be caught in the net. The hunter took the bird to the king of Benares who ordered a seat for it. Seated thereon the peacock asked the king why he set hunters after him. On learning from the king that it was for gaining perpetual youth partaking of its flesh, it explained the ridiculous nature of a proposition that immortality was gained by partaking of the flesh of animals killed for the purpose. It then recounted to the king the good deeds it did in a former life to merit its golden plumes and established him in the keeping of the commandments.

The sculpture in the circular medallion is unfortunately broken and mutilated: but there is sufficient left to show us a king seated on a throne near a lotus pond wito his queens beside him. The queen immediately next to the king is probably Khema who evinced a desire to hear the golden peacock preach the law.

Of the three panels lower down, the scene to the left cannot be made out an important part of the sculpture having disappeared. The panel to the right shows the king consulting the ministers and the hunters. One of the wise men, obviously a minister, is seated near the king and is evidently reading something from a text about the existence of such a bird as a golden peacock. The hunter kneeling before him is the one who knows of the wonderful bird.

The central panel shows a person of noble appearance seated on a couch in the company of his wives. It is obviously the king and queens adoring the bird, a repository of wisdom. The hunter is shown, dressed as a monk beside the peacock. The sculptor who has followed the Mora Jataka in showing the peacock preaching the law in the king's palace has taken the liberty of adapting the story and introducing the hunter as a monk which version is in the Mahamora Jataka where, however, the bird is not taken to the king.

The back shows a lovely lotus medallion (partially broken) with triple bust of lion in the centre, four dwarfs in the three flutings below, and a half lotus immediately above the border of foliage issuing from the mouths of makara terminals at the bottom.

III B, 17. *Sakka gains a Celestial Nymph, Rohiṇī khattiyakaññā* (pl. xlvi, fig. 1).— Coping fragment showing an animated scene wherein a woman is pulled protesting by a

ruffian while another is carried off by force. One of the men has an upraised cudgel which is being wrested from him. Men and women around are looking on in wonder while a man to the extreme left near the boundary wall clasps his hands in entreaty. Above, in the balcony of a palace lit with numerous lamps in niches, are a noble person wearing a *kirīta* and a woman beside him with hands joined in adoration.

The sculpture seems to depict some story in which Sakka occurs, as one of the seated figures, in the building all ablaze with lights in small niches, wears the crown, worn only by the king of the gods in this period. The scene may be identified as representing the story of Sakka and the celestial nymph as given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (iii, p. 97) which is briefly this :—

Once a lovely nymph was born in the Abode of the Thirty-three at the meeting point of the boundaries of four deities, who, the moment they saw her, fell madly in love with her and desired to possess her each for himself; and a quarrel ensued. Finally they went to Sakka the king and requested him to settle their dispute.

But when Sakka saw the lovely nymph, desire arose in his heart as well. He now asked the deities what they felt when they saw her. One of them confessed that the desire awakened in him would no more subside than a battle drum, the second that his thoughts ran like a wild torrent, the third that from the time he saw her his eyes popped out like those of a crab, and the last that his thoughts fluttered like a banner on a shrine. Sakka now spoke and pointed out to them how, while their thoughts on seeing her were just on fire, his were such that without her he would die. The deities felt that Sakka needed her most and departed after presenting her to him. So she became his favourite, whose every request he granted.

The sculpture shows four men quarrelling immediately beneath the balcony of a mansion. The same men are again shown individually with a woman. The first one of them is standing beside her. Another is attempting to carry her off and is pulling at her. A third is carrying her away. The fourth has joined his hands to request them to stop fighting so that they could go to Sakka. The absence of turban from these four deities appears strange, but it must be to show that they are behaving no better than low folk like thieves or bandits. Sakka is seated above in the mansion all ablaze with lights–the Palace of Glory (*Pāsāda Vejayanta*)—and beside him is the nymph with her hands joined in adoration of the lord of gods to whom she has been presented by the four deities and who respects every one of her wishes.

III B, 18. *The Story of Sarvamdada, Sarvamdadāvadāna* (pl. xxviii, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl. xiv, fig. 5). – Fragment of medallion on cross-bar showing a king seated on his throne with a bird in his hand and attended by a chauri-bearer and other women, soldiers

and a minister. Hunters are addressing him humbly, one of them kneeling at his feet. Lower down to the left a hunter is cutting the king's flesh with a knife; to the right the king is held in a balance (the portion below the chest is lost).

Foucher regards this as the Jataka of king Sivi. But the story of Sivi as given in the Jataka is different from what we see in the sculpture. The incident of the hawk and the dove and the noble king's gift of his own flesh to save the dove as told in the Mahabharata is totally absent from the Jataka, where Sakka tests the king and receives his eyes from him. Even other recensions of the Jataka like the Jatakamala give the latter story only. The Hindu story of Sibi, however, is almost satisfied by the sculpture. This remained a puzzle to me, till Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri who remembered having read this story there suggested Avadanakalpalata as an explanation and asked me to peruse it. I was amply rewarded in regard not only to this sculpture but to several others' also. The story as given in the Avadanakalpalata (ii, chap. lv. p. 118) is clearly the one in the mind of the sculptor of the panel just described. The story is here called Saravamdadavadana and is briefly as follows:—

In a prosperous city called Sarvavati there lived a king named Sarvamdada (giver of all). One day he sat in state to meet his counsellors and discuss matters of state. At that moment a dove all afright came and crouched in his lap. The kind-hearted king noticing the plight of the poor bird looked around to see the cause of its fright. At that moment Sakra, who desired to test the virtue of the king, appeared as a hunter and asked the king to restore him his game which was intended for his food. The king offered the hunter rich food from the palace and requested him to desist from unnecessary cruel slaughter. The hunter pleaded that royal dainties would not suit hunters accustomed to coarser food obtained by hunting. He agreed, however, to let the dove go if he got twice its weight of the king's own flesh. The king then offered his own flesh to save the bird and ordered a balance to be brought in which to weigh it. The ministers were filled with sorrow but could not interfere. Though the king offered plenty of gold as a reward for cutting the flesh none had the heart to do it till at last a very cruel man, Kapilapingala, undertook the task. Flesh was cut from the thighs, arms and other parts but was not equal to the weight of the bird in the opposite scale. Finally the bleeding king, all skin and bone, got into the scale quite unruffled, to the great wonder of the cruel butcher who asked the king the reason for sacrificing life which was so valued by all. The king smiled and replied that it was for gaining nothing but supreme knowledge that would relieve all creatures from suffering; and for this utterance of truth his body became whole once more.

In the sculpture the king is surrounded by his counsellors and is seated in the royal state attended by chauri-bearers, palace guards and others. The dove is on his lap, "covered by his hand, resonant with bangles, that assured it protection" as Kshemendra has described

(Avadanakalpalata; lv 20). The ministers sorrow and the hunter just bows and then agrees to cut his flesh. Lower down Kapilapingala cuts the flesh from the king and finally the king is shown getting into the scale.

III B. 19. *The Story of Prince Somanassa, Somanassa Jātaka* (pl. xxvii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xix, fig. 2)—Cross-bar broken and mutilated, especially to the lower right representing in its circular disc a king or prince in the company of his numerous queens, listening with hands joined in reverence, to the teaching of hermits in the vicinity of their huts. At the left top corner may be seen the horse and the groom waiting. Higher up beyond what appears a mud boundary wall, a boyish figure of slight proportions, lying on a couch, is surrounded by three men, one of whom has a weapon in his hand. Next to this and beyond the huts are three men one of whom has a hatchet in his hand.

The sculpture in the medallion may be identified as representing scenes from the story of prince Somanassa (Jataka iv, No. 505, p. 275) which is briefly this :—

Once a king named Renu ruled the Kurus from the city of Uttarapancala. At that time an ascetic named Maharakkhita came from his abode in the Himalayas for salt and seasoning and dwelt in the royal park with his five hundred companions. The king honoured them and requested them to stay for the rainy season in his park and provided them with all comforts.

After the rainy season Maharakkhita took leave of the king and when returning to the Himalayas stopped on the way under the shade of a tree where the other ascetics talked of the bountiful king and his sad childless state. Maharakkhita perceived by his divine insight and assured them that the king would soon have a worthy son. A sham ascetic who was in the company heard this and at once hurried to the king to tell him this as if he himself had perceived it by divine insight.

The king was struck by his great power of seeing the future as he took it to be, and requested him to stay on in his park. Honoured by the king he stayed there and he was surnamed Dibbacakkhuka or the man of divine vision. But the sham ascetic spent all his time in gardening, and amassed wealth stealthily by cultivating in the park and selling to the market gardeners (greengrocers) vegetables and pot-herbs.

Soon the Bodhisatta was born as the king's son, who was called Somanassakumara. He was brought up with all possible care. When the prince was seven years old the king had to go to the frontier of his realm to quell a rebellion and he asked his son to attend to the needs of the ascetic. The prince one day went to visit the ascetic and found him busy gardening and seeing that he was worldly minded addressed him as he would a gardener and went away without saluting him.

The sham ascetic being thus put to shame, broke his waterpot, threw his stone bench aside, smeared his body with oil, wrapped up his head and pretended to be ill when the king returned. Learning from the ascetic that the prince was the cause of all his sufferings

the king ordered his servants to go to the prince and strike him dead with their sword. But the prince requested them to take him to his father to whom he explained how he had but spoken the bare truth in calling the sham ascetic a gardener. The greengrocers and the hidden wealth in the hut was sufficient proof of the man's guilt. The king now repented having ordered the execution of his guiltless son who, nevertheless, tired of life in a household, repaired to the Himalayas to live the life of an anchorite, in spite of the entreaties of his royal parents.

The sculpture shows king Renu with his queen Sudhamma and retinue adoring the ascetics headed by Maharakkhita resting in the royal park for the rainy reason. The mutilated scence to the right top shows a man with curly hair busy with something like a hatchet. He appears to be the sham ascetic busy in the garden watched by the prince. To the left of this the sham ascetic watches the king's servants coming sword in hand to strike the seven year-old prince lying on a couch.

On the back is a lotus medallion somewhat injured.

III B, 20 and 21. *Virtue rewarded, Suruci Jātaka* (pl. lv, figs. 1, 2 and 3; also Burgess 1, pl. xxvii, fig, 6 illustrating the former alone).—Coping fragment partly mutilated (III B, 20) showing a number of continuous scenes. To the extreme left is a tree, above the branches of which a child is held by someone whose defaced head is visible. Standing beside the tree and begging for the child are a number of women (some of the figures are mutilated.) To the right a turbaned man of princely form is carrying the child and is watched by three women, one with hands in position to receive it. Above this an elderly man is seated on wicker chair and is adored by a turbaned man and a man and woman of humble birth, one of whom has an offering for him in a vessel in her hand. Beyond this is a king seated on a throne attended by a number of women, and a child is brought near him by a turbaned man. Next to this to the right there is a noble-looking man talking to a woman but the figures are mostly broken and fragmentary. Lower down where also it is fragmentary can be seen heads of persons in a grove suggested by a tree near a wagon-roofed building.

There is an incomplete inscription on top. For details of this see p. 292.

The back shows a piece of the usual garland and in the bight two worshippers flank a wheel above an empty throne. The lotus flower border above is beautifully executed.

Fragment of coping (III, B, 21, part of the previous one) showing parts of four compartments. In the top left is a noble-looking person on a chair contemplating or admiring something as may be seen by his hand and attitude. In the next a similar person is seated emptying a pot on his head, while the figure of an attendant to his left is broken. In one of the two panels below there are a man and woman of rank with some thing in their hands

and in the other a (?) lady with elaborate headdress. The scenes on this are in continuation of the story depicted in the previous fragment to which this belongs and with which it must be studied. The interpretation is given therefore for both here.

The sculptured scenes on this coping fragment may be identified with the story of prince Mahapanada (Jataka iv, No. 489, p. 198) which is briefly this :—

Once the prince of Mithila, Surucikumara, and prince Brahmadatta of Benares studied together at Takkasila. When, after the completion of their studies, they parted for their respective kingdoms, they agreed to a match between their children if one had a son and the other a daughter.

Soon Suruci became king and had a son also named Suruci, and Brahmadatta had a daughter named Sumedha. After Suruci's schooling was finished his father sent word to Brahmadatta, his old friend, to give his beautiful and wise daughter to his son as wife. The king of Benares agreed to give her in marriage to prince Suruci but he laid a condition that she should be the only wife of the prince who should marry no other. The prince who heard of the great beauty of the princess readily agreed and soon they wedded.

Suruci was now made king and lived happily with his queen. But a long time elapsed without a child being born to them. The townsfolk were dejected over this and requested the king to perpetuate his line by marrying other princesses. But the prince having given his word not to marry another would not think of it. His virtuous queen Sumedha now saw that she should intervene and herself got him married to a number of damsels. But yet no son was born. The wives of the king and Sumedha offered all sorts of vows and prayed to every possible deity for a son. At last by the glory of Sumedha's virtue Sakka's dwelling trembled and he paused and considered how he could fulfil her desire. He saw a young god Nalakara, who, like his father of the same name, had been a reed maker in his previous birth, when both of them had offered food and built a hut of rushes for Paccekabuddhas. As a result of this merit they had been reborn in heaven. Perceiving that the younger Nalakara would become the Tathagata, Sakka saluted him and requested him to become the son of queen Sumedha, whose virtue was great, and obtained his consent after promising him the best of palaces to compensate for life in the world that he considered loathsome.

Sakka now proceeded to the park of king Suruci in the guise of a sage, and, soaring above the women, asked who among them required a child. All of them lifted their hands and asked for the promised child. But Sakka replied that he could give sons only to the virtuous. They now directed him to Summedha who was a model of virtue and approaching her they made her aware of the presence of a sage who promised the boon of a son to the virtuous. The queen now interrogated Sakka and in answer to his questions recounted her virtues. Pleased with her, Sakka assured her a son and vanished.

Soon the queen conceived and gave birth to a son called Mahapanada and people from far and near brought him presents. The prince was brought up magnificently and when he was sixteen was quite accomplished. The king now thought of making his son king and sent for those skilled in divining lucky spots to select a site for his palace. Sakka's throne now grew hot and soon he summoned Vissakamma to build a grand palace for prince Mahapanada. This was soon accomplished by a tap on the earth with his staff and a magnificent palace was ready for the prince. Three ceremonies were done together for Mahapanada, the consecrating of the palace, the ceremonial sprinkling and the ceremony of his marriage. There was great feasting and merriment which was unusually prolonged as no tumbler or dancer could make the prince laugh; and the assembly would not break up without the prince laughing at least once. Finally Sakka sent a divine dancer whose unusual half-body dance sent the assembly into convulsions of laughter and brought a smile even in the prince's face. Thus ended the festival.

The sculpture shows to the extreme left Sakka with a child (the figures are mutilated) above a tree beneath which a number of women with hands lifted up ask for the child. The tree suggests the park where the wives of Suruci beg for the boon of a son. Sakka's question as to whether any one desired a child is indicated by the child shown in his hand. Queen Sumedha is seated separately a little to the right. Being appraised by a lady shown beside her of the presence of a person conferring the boon of a son, the queen stands up and bows to Sakka who turns towards her and asks her also whether she wants a son—the son being indicated by the child in his hands. The queen is shown wearing a beautiful lotus-shaped *cūḍāmaṇi* on her head. Obviously she tells him of her virtues and claims the boon. Above this a Paccekabuddha is adored and offered food in a hut of rushes by the senior Nalakara with a woman, probaby his wife, and his son, shown as a magnificent youth to indicate the high quality of his future births. The reed walls of the hut are suggestive of the Nalakara's craft. To the right of this a son is born to the king. The scene beyond is, in all probability, the discussion between king Suruci and his wife Sumedha about their son, now a youth, for whom just before the ceremonial sprinkling they desired to build a magnificent palace. Sumedha the virtuous queen listens to the king with hands joined in respect. The slab is broken here but the story is continued on the next fragment which is fortunately preserved.

Here (III B, 21) in the first panel to the left there is obviously Vissakamma seated with a staff in his hand with which he created the magnificent palace. His right hand which is in an attitude of admiration suggests the magnificence of the palace he is about to create. The next scene shows the prince seated and pourning a jar of ceremonial water brought by attendants, one of whom (mutilated) is shown standing beside him (the sculpture is unfortunately broken beyond it). Lower down the prince and his newly wedded wife are shown together to the left and to the right is the scene of tumblers and dancers. Their bundles—such as

are usually carried by tumblers—are suspended from *māgadantas*, crooked pegs, above. Two bright lamps are shown on either side of a richly dressed danseuse whose hands are thrown about in dance gestures (the lower scenes are also broken).

The back (III B. 21) shows the usual garland with excellent decoration ; one the square shield on it there is a representation of the worship of the throne and pillar surmounted by wheel. Above, in the bight, is an octagonal pillar with leafy top from which issue three dwarf yakshas in worshipful attitude.

III B. 22. *The Presents of King Bandhuma, introduction to Vessantara Jātaka* (pl. xxv, fig. 2).—Cross-bar with central disc and projection beyond for letting into the mortices of the rail pillar on either side. The scene in the medallion shows a king in court to whom presents are offered. The king is seated at ease on a throne which shelters a dwarf, his foot resting on a stool, and is attended by women with chauris. To his right is seated a woman of rank attended by maids in waiting. Another woman, also probaby of rank, stands near the throne in an attitude of wonder. Below, in front of the king, are pages in tunics offering presents including garlands and a small casket. A number of men including a noble-looking youth are approaching the king through an arched gate adjoining the palace, beyond which are stationed a horse and an elephant, the mahout lying idly on his animal.

The scene represented in this medallation can be identified as from the story of king Bandhuma's daughters (Jataka vi, No. 547, p. 247):—

Once during the time of Buddha Vipassi a certain king sent two valuable presents to king Bandhuma who ruled from the city of Bandhumati. The presents consisted of a costly golden wreath and precious sandalwood. The king gave the presents to his two daughters, the sandalwood to the elder and the flower wreath to the younger. But both of them resolved not to use those precious things themselves but to present them to Vipassi who was dwelling in the deer-park of Khema. The king consenting, the elder princess proceeded with the sandalwood, powdered and filled in a box, which she sprinkled on the person of the sage and in his cell, praying that in a future birth she might be the mother of a Buddha ; and the younger one placed the golden wreath on the sage praying that she should have a similar ornament on her neck till such time as she attained sainthood. The prayer was granted.

The elder princess was born in one of her later births as Phusati the mother of Vessantara and later as Mayadevi the mother of Buddha. The other princess was born as the daughter of king Kiki with a golden necklet on her neck and attained sainthood in her sixteenth year on hearing a pious utterance of the Master. This story of Phusati in her former birth is related in the Vessāntara Jataka.

The sculpture shows king Bandhuma on his throne, with the ladies of his court on his right and behind him, those of the pair behind the sides of the throne each waving a chauri. All, including the king, are nude above the waist band. On the king's left a prince or nobleman

of his court is introducing the messengers sent by the king of another country to convey his two gifts—the golden wreath and the sandalwood—and it is noticeable that the strangers are all fully clothed. Dr. Gravely observes these facts and makes the following observations about the figures. "One of them, no doubt the prince or nobleman leading them, wears a royal headdress and resembles facially king Bandhuma and his courtiers. He holds his hands together in salutation to the king. The rest have broad noses and thick hair of which two or three types are easily distinguishable, the most distinctive being in close curls. The man being introduced to the king at the moment of the picture is evidently the captain of the guard with sword and shield, and the wreath and casket are being presented by four boys. The figure on the leader's right, who is shown like him saluting the king is puzzling as, though his face and hair resemble those of the visitors, he wears nothing above the waist, as is proved by his clearly shown navel. The others are no doubt the members of the leader's retinue. Their features and the closely curled hair of many of them seem to indicate that that artist wished to emphasise their coming from another kingdom by giving them the physical characteristics of the early Negrito Indians, some tribes of whom may still have had kingdoms of their own when this sculpture was produced."

The wreath offered from a jewelled tray and the casket, the receptacle of the precious sandalwood, are clearly shown. The two noble ladies, one seated near the king and the other standing beside her, are the princesses who received the presents and honoured the sage.

The back bears circular lotus medallion.

III B, 23. *Vidhura the Wise One*, *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* (pl. xliv, figs. 1 and 2 and pl. xlv, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl. xxii, figs. 1 and 2).—Coping stone with successive scenes on the inner side badly weather-worn. To the extreme left a nagaraja with hands held in *anjali* is taking leave of a man on a seat and is proceeding with other companions, a *vāmanikā* leading the way. On the top a lady stands at ease conversing with a man on horseback who is hurrying away beyond a mountain followed by dwarf yaksha attendants. Beyond this is an arched gateway and a court of a king seated with his counsellors. Next to this the horse-rider turns back, this time with a noble-looking man clinging to his horse by the tail. Beyond the court scene the horse is shown still on its way back, and near the mountain which has a huge peak are two turbaned men one throwing the other head downwards. Later, one of the same two discourses, and the other listens. Next, both are on horseback adored by a nagaraja.

The story carved on this coping fragment has been identified as Vidhurapandita Jataka (vi, No. 545, p. 126) by Dr. Vogel in his additional notes to his Indian Serpent Lore (p. 286). The story briefly narrated runs thus :—

King Dhananjaya Korabba who ruled the Kuru kingdom from his capital Indapatta had a remarkably intelligent minister named Vidhurapandita who advised him in all matters

spiritual and temporal. His voice was so sweet and his discourses so eloquent that the kings of Jambudipa were spell-bound when they listened to him. Four householders of Kalacampa in the kingdom of Anga, who heard of the glory of Sakka, the king of the nagas, the king of the supannas and Dhananjaya Korabba, from ascetics whom they entertained with alms, conceived a desire each for a particular heavenly abode. When they died after doing many works of merit one of them was born as Sakka, another as the king of the nagas, the third as the supanna[1] king and the last as the son of king Dhananjaya. The Korabba prince on succeeding to his father's throne honoured the advice of Vidhurapandita and ruled righteously. He was famous for his skill in dice. One day as accident would have it, king Korabba, Sakka, the supanna king and Varuna the nagaraja retired to the selfsame garden for meditation. When they rose to depart to their respective places, they looked at one another, and the old affection being revived in their hearts, they exchanged greetings and sitting in a pleasant spot discussed the superior nature of the virtues of each. Coming to no definite conclusion and hearing from Korabba of the wisdom of Vidhurapandita they went to him to get their problem solved. Seated on an elevated seat Vidhurapandita asked each of them to name his special virtue. The naga spoke of forbearance, the garuda of gentleness, Sakka of control of passion and Korabba of freedom from obstacles to religious perfection. Vidhurapandita declared all these four to be essential virtues of an ascetic. Highly pleased with his decision the four kings gave him valuable presents before they left him.

On his return home the naga king was asked by his queen Vimala about the jewel ornament which was missing on his neck and learnt from him that it was presented to Vidhurapandita the brilliant minister of Korabba. She immediately longed to hear Vidhurapandita discourse on the law. Pretending to be sick she took to bed and asked her husband to procure her Vidhurapandita's heart which alone could cure her. As the naga king sat and pondered how impossible a task it was to get the heart of the sage, his beautiful daughter approached him and learnt the cause of his trouble. Requested by her father to save her mother's life, she sped that night to the Himalaya, which she decorated with sweet smelling flowers, and sang a song inviting any gallant naga, gandhabba, or kimpurusha capable of getting Vidhura's heart to woo her as his wife. The youth Punnaka, the nephew of Vessavana, was riding on his valuable steed. Hearing her song he replied that he would procure for her what she wanted and take her as his wife. With her he went to the nagaraja, promissed him the heart of Vidhurapandita and mounting his throughbred sped to Indapatta. But just before he started for that city he went to his uncle Vessavana who was busy settling a dispute, since without his permission he could not go. Vessavana decided the dispute and asked one of the disputants to go. Taking this as addressed to him Punnaka left for the Karu kingdom taking with him an exceedingly precious jewel. On reaching the kingdom he made straight for the king's court where he showed the king the priceless jewel and the magnificent horse as objects to be won. The king was fascinated by these, staked everything except his person and state umbrella, and began the game with Punnaka. Korabba

[1] Supanna is a synonym for garuda.

cast the dice, but they fell against him, since his guardian deity who should have averted the mishap was scared away by the yakkha. Punnaka now demanded Vidhurapandita of the king whom the king priced as his own life. The king and Punnaka now proceeded to Vidhura to get the question of Punnaka's claim on the sage settled. The decision was in favour of the yakkha and the king gave away the sage to Punnaka but not without hearing him preach the law. Vidhurapandita now requested Punnaka to come to his house, where, with the latter's permission, he stayed for three days instructing his people in the right course of conduct.

At the end of the period Punnaka mounted his steed and asked Vidhura to hold firmly to the tail of the animal which forthwith soared aloft making towards Kalagiri. Here the yakkha, anxious to get his heart, tried to frighten him to death by assuming various fantastic shapes. Failing in his purpose, he seized Vidhura and, holding him head downwards, tried to kill him by flinging him from the hilltop. The sage realising the evil intention of the yakkha asked him the reason for his attempting to kill him. On hearing the yakkha's reply the sage at once understood what Vimala meant by his heart and requested Punnaka to raise him up to enable him to reveal his heart—the laws of good men. The yakkha, anxious to hear them, at once lifted him and set him on a seat on the top of the mountain when the sage described to him the rules of right conduct. The yakkha now repented his action, in trying to kill Vidhura and without any more thought of the naga maiden offered to take the sage back to Indapatta. But the sage insisted on his taking him to the nagaloka and the yakkha placing him on a seat behind him on his horse carried him to the naga king. Arrived at the palace of the naga the sage fearlessly addressed that king and discoursed to him on the merits of virtuous actions. The delighted king of the nagas learning from the sage that he was won fairly by Punnaka took him to his queen who with her hands folded in reverence greeted him. Irandati the princess was now given in marriage to Punnaka who with great joy and gratitude carried the sage back to the land of the Kurus where he was welcomed eagerly by the king with all his hosts around him.

The scene on the extreme left shows Vidhura on a low seat. There are four persons of noble birth opposite him, one of them with snake hoods, all outstanding personalities. A group of followers are shown behind them and a *vāmanikā* is showing the way before them. Obviously this represents the four kings taking leave of Vidhurapandita after consulting him regarding their doubts on the question of their individual merits. The next scene is a little towards the right at the top. A beautiful lady, Irandati, is talking to a person on a horse, Punnaka. Other semi-divine beings are soaring into the sky on strange steeds. These may be taken to be the kimpurushas near Vepulla mountain whence the yakkha got the precious gem which he staked along with his horse when he played dice with the king of the Kurus. But the mountain here should be taken to represent more the Black mountain where the yakkha attempted to kill the sage ; and that scene is actually shown in the carving on the side

of the hill. But the same mountain top serves the purposes of both scenes; and as it can be conveniently taken for both, the sculptor may be congratulated for his ingenious method of laconic representation. Again we find Punnaka on horseback speeding towards a gateway attended by dwarfish yakkhas. This *torana* represents the outergate of the palace of the king of Kurus. Vidhura is shown coming out from the gateway. In the hall next to the gate is seated king Korabba surrounded by his queens and a host of men, his officers and noblemen at court. The scene is evidently that of Vidhura taking leave of the king in his place after spending three days in his own house with the consent of the yakkha that won him in the game of dice with Korabba. The queens and officers at court are lamenting the departure of the sage who is respectfully saluting his master. The gateway scene should be taken as coming next. The carving to the extreme right shows Punnaka on horseback carrying away Vidhura who in accordance with the instruction of the yakkha is clinging to the tail of the animal. Yakkha attendants are flying along with Punnaka. The story now proceeds from right to left all along the lower half of the panel and naturally the direction of the horse is also changed by the sculptor. The sculptor's method is ingenious and to make us doubly sure of his intention he has repeated the scene just beneath and to the left of the doorway. The next scene shows the yakkha holding Vidhura head downwards with the intention of hurling him down the hill which is immediately behind him. The panel beside it shows the yakkha listening to the discourse of the sage. Next to this two men are stated on a horse, the yakkha and Vidhura. They have reached the world of the nagas since the nagaraja is shown standing and adoring the sage. That the sage is discoursing to the king on Dhamma can be easily inferred from the attitude of his right hand.

There is an inscription on the top. For details see p. 292.

The back shows the usual garland carried at intervals by four bearers assisted by a fifth near its second dip. The adoration of the stupa by flanking worshippers is carved in the bights at both ends, and in the rest, the adoration of the wheel on pillar behind the empty throne, the devout watering and tending of the Bodhi tree by princes and princesses, and the naga Mucilinda, represented half snake half human and flanked by women with offerings, adoring Buddha as he protects him, are the themes for the bights. In the two circular and two square shields are shown the adoration of a vase, a scene from Buddha's life—probably the visit of Suddhodana to Mayadevi, the adoration of the Bodhi tree with throne beneath it and a scene from a story, probably of Udayana and Samavati. There is a lovely top border of lotuses and a similar lower one of exquisitely worked animals running between creeper pattern.

III B, 24. *The Story of Vidhurapaṇḍita, Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* (pl. xxix, fig. 1).—Fragment of cross-bar showing part of a medallion containing two scenes divided by a pillar. In the first scene are five men on seats in the foreground, and except for the leg of a man

seated beyond, on a raised seat, the figures are broken and lost. In the scene to the right is a horse whose rider is completely mutilated and lost except for his feet which just touch the head of the first of the two dwarfs below.

Mr. T. N. Ramachandran takes the latter scene to be a representation of prince Siddhartha's flight on his horse Kanthaka whose hoofs were caught by yakkhas to avoid the least sound as he escaped. But this is not possible as in that case the first scene cannot be explained. Further the yakshas are not holding the hoofs of the horse.

The scene in this fragment of medallion may be identified as from the story of Vidhurapaṇḍita. The story is given on p. 235 where sculpture on a long coping fragment which has this Jataka for its theme is explained.

There are in the medallion two men addressing each other with their hands raised. They are playing dice which they have just cast. Both the dice may be seen on the rectangular board beyond them above. They are Punnaka and king Korabba. Beside them are other courtiers and ministers. Beyond the pillar outside wait Punnaka's valuable horse and his dwarfish yakkha attendants.

III B, 25. *Vidhura the Wise One, Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* (pl. xxix, fig. 2).—Cross-bar with circular medallion showing a dignified turbaned person robed like Buddha seated on throne opposite a pleasure pond full of lotuses and geese, preaching to nagas and naginis who adore him. Above are dwarf yakshas following, in the air above, a steed whose rider's feet are just seen. Though damaged the contour of the legs of more than the one rider on the same animal may be distinguished.

The sculpture in the medallion may be identified as a scene from the story of Vidhura the wise one. The story is given on p. 235.

The central figure represents Vidhura seated on a magnificent throne and preaching to the king of the nagas and his queen. The scene above which is much damaged shows the arrival of Vidhura. The yaksha Punnaka on the horse accompanied by his dwarfish followers is shown. Unfortunately it is only the hind part of the horse and the legs of Punnaka on the steed that can be seen. The rest is obliterated. But it is clear what it is meant to represent. The pleasures of the naga kingdom are indicated by the beautiful lotus lake carved in the foreground with flamingoes and geese swimming about.

The back shows the usual lotus medallion.

C. Uprights from Rail.

With both sides preserved:—III C, 1.—Lower part of broken rail pillar showing half-lotus over a border composed of lion and makara on either side of a central foliage design which

they approach. The half-lotus and the four animals in the border are also repeated on the back. Mortices have been cut in the sides of the pillar for taking in the lenticular edges of cross-bars.

III C, 2.—Lower part of rail pillar with half-lotus medallion on both sides over border of foliage and flowers, one on each side issuing from the mouth of a single makara at one end.

III C, 3.—Lower part of rail pillar broken and badly weather worn showing half-lotus medallion above a border of foliage, animals and birds on one side, and plain foliage and flowers issuing from the mouth of a terminal dwarf (much damaged) on the other.

III C, 4. (Burgess 2, pl. xv g).—Lower part of upright showing half-lotus medallion on both sides over a border of animals—elephants and griffins rushing through foliage issuing from the mouths of terminal makara and dwarf yaksha on one side and winged lions between foliage pattern issuing from a single terminal makara on the other. Legs of mutilated figure can be seen above the half-lotus medallion at one end on one side. For inscription below carving on one side see p. 292.

III C, 5. (Burgess 1, pl. xiii, figs. 1 and 2).—Lower part of upright showing half-lotus medallion above border of lotuses and foliage issuing from the mouth of markara terminals on both sides. Above this there are three upright panels. The central one on one side shows two women adoring Buddha suggested by the empty throne with feet below a tree (broken above the trunk); and legs of a man on a crocodile of unusual type noted and pointed out by Dr. Burgess as occurring in one other case (Fergusson, pl. lxx) can be seen in each of the other two panels. On the other side, three beautifully carved noble-looking persons (figures are broken above the trunk) are shown in the central panel adoring Buddha who is represented by his feet imprinted on the ground; a similar worshipper carrying a bow stands on a crocodile in the panel to the left and the feet of broken figures are to be seen in the one to the right.

III C, 6.—Lower part of rail pillar showing mutilated half-lotus on both sides over border of sparse foliage issuing from the mouths of terminal makaras. A central leaf pattern on one side and similarly a vase with foliage on the other are flanked by two approaching lions.

III C, 7.—Lower part of rail pillar badly worn on the back showing on the front a half-lotus over an ornamented band of foliage and birds issuing from the mouth of a single makara terminal. The border around the half-lotus on the back shows pairs of lions and griffins well worked but unfortunately worn.

With inner side preserved: III C, 8.—Fragment of rail pillar showing a border of a lotus medallion and a number of beautifully carved turbaned men below.

III C, 9.—Fragment of rail pillar showing a single flute to the extreme left below a lotus medallion. To the right of two turbaned men of rank on a seat with their right hands raised in gesticulation (hand is all that is left of the second man) is another turbaned man, probably a counsellor, seated similarly with cloak covering his chest and one of his shoulders. Below are two others seated with hands raised in gesticulation.

III C, 10.—Fragment of rail pillar showing part of the upper half medallion and a few figures in two of the three flutes immediately below. In a small semi-circular panel within the half-lotus, Buddha is depicted seated on a throne, attended by a chauri-bearer and adored by a worshipper, both to the right. The corresponding figures to the left are destroyed. The scenes in the flutes below are from a harem; a prince and princess are seated on a common seat and are attended by women carrying chauries and cornucopia. In this and in the subsequent panel the *kañcuki* is easily recognized by his peculiar headgear over an aged and wrinkled face.

III C, 11.—Lower part of rail pillar with three mutilated and weathered sculptured flutes immediately above the lower half-lotus. The first panel to the left shows a prince—broken above the waist—seated with his wife on a common seat. To the left opposite him, is a woman on a wicker seat with her hands joined in adoration. To the right a kneeling woman is offering something. The next panel shows a lady of high rank—mostly mutilated—seated on a chair, her feet resting on a footrest attended by women that stand and sit around her. Opposite her have been figures, now lost, except for that of a man with hands joined in adoration seated opposite her on the ground. She is evidently listening to some religious discourse since all the figures including her attendants are in an attitude of devotion. In the third and last panel a woman (mutilated) is kneeling at the feet of a distinguished personage (mutilated and broken above the thighs). The anklets and feet of another woman standing nearby are just visible. Below the half-lotus is the usual creeper border with makara terminals.

III C, 12 (pl. xxviii, fig. 3).—Fragment of rail pillar showing the left end of a medallion in which life in a royal harem is beautifully shown. A lady is seated on a chair, her feet resting on a foot stool, while others beyond—now broken—recline on a couch. Lower down a woman plays on the *vīṇā* from her seat, another keeps time similarly seated—the figures beyond are lost. A woman kneels before the *vīṇā* player as she offers her something in a vessel; immediately behind her is a woman seated on the ground and contemplating at ease the melodies of music.

III C, 13 (pl. lviii, fig. 3; also Burgess 1, pl. xiv, fig. 2).—Fragment from rail pillar showing a small fraction of a medallion with figures carved in it. The scene is one of certain worshippers adoring a central figure now lost. A lady in a chair, two kneeling men, the feet and jewelled waist of a seated woman in the foreground and offerings in a basket are all the figures left in the fragment. This fragment came on top of other fragments one of which is here figured (III B, 10). This is clear in the picture given by Dr. Burgess.

With outer side preserved: III C, 14.—Part of rail pillar with border below showing a lion and makara on either side of a central floral design which they approach. Above the border is the usual half-lotus medallion with petals elaborately worked. Further up where the slab is broken only three feet of two of the three dwarfs who should have adorned the panels are preserved. Half-lotuses flank the half medallion near the top.

III C, 15.—Fragment of rail pillar showing half-lotus medallion with a border of running bulls on top.

III C, 16.—Fragment of rail pillar showing half-lotus medallion with border of floral design below running around a central group of lotuses.

III C, 17.—Fragment of rail pillar showing the lower half-lotus over a border of foliage and lotuses issuing from the mouth of terminal makaras one of which is lost.

III C, 18 (Burgess 1, pl. xvi, fig. 7).—Fragment of rail pillar showing part of the lower half disc above a border of foliage issuing from the mouth of terminal makaras in the interspaces of which sport two lions and a griffin. The central disc of the lotus shows a five-hooded naga.

III C, 19.—Fragment of rail pillar showing part of lotus medallion and fluted parts with leafy design.

III C, 20.—Fragment of rail pillar showing wavy pattern on top and bottom of flutes (only the first and part of second is preserved) above lotus medallion with fine creeper border in which animals are interworked (partly mutilated and lost).

III C, 21 (pl. xl, fig. 1; also Rea 1, pl, xxxviii).—Central part of rail pillar with lotus medallion and flanking lily to the left top immediately below wavy pattern and similar lily to the lower right end. The central knob of the lotus (partly mutilated) has a seated winged lion (with head broken) and the medallion itself has a lovely border of creeper with flower and foliage issuing from and entering the mouth of two makaras back to back with dwarf riders; animals, real and mythical, and birds are cleverly introduced in the interspaces. This is a fine example of decorative work of the period.

III C, 22.—Lower part of broken rail pillar showing half-lotus over a boader composed of four-petalled and circular flowers. There are three flutes above this and lower edge of the central medallion which is broken.

III C, 23.—Lower part of broken rail pillar showing half-lotus over a weathered border of chequered pattern, fluted space, and lower part of central lotus medallion, with a beautiful border composed of strands with circular clasps at regular intervals.

III C, 24.—Rail pillar, broken towards the top, showing half-lotus on a border composed of line of beads running in an undulating manner not in curves but in horizontal and vertical lines forming many squares. Between the fluted space above (here it is broken) and below

is a lotus medallion, with beautiful creeper border an end of which is held in the trunk of an elephant fish, *jalebha*, whence it proceeds. Half-blossomed lotuses are shown at the corners of the lotus medallions.

III C, 25.—Lower part of rail pillar showing half-lotus over a border composed of triangles with fan-shaped patterns in them. Above the flutes is part of a lower edge (the rest is lost) of the central lotus medallion with lovely border composed of a connected series of svastikas with four-petalled flowers in the interspaces.

III C, 26.—Lower part of rail pillar showing half-lotus above border of four-petalled flowers and part of the lower edge of beautiful border of central medallion above the flutes.

III C, 27.—Lower fragment of rail pillar showing just the half-lotus over two narrow borders, one of petals and the other of triangles with fan pattern arranged in them.

III C, 28—Lower fragment of rail pillar showing on one side half-lotus on a border composed of triangles with fan pattern arranged in them.

III C, 29.—Huge uncarved lower part of rail pillar with three large letters incised on one side. For details see p. 292.

D. Cross-bars.

With both sides preserved: III D, 1.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion on both sides with, however, variation in design which is always the case.

III D, 2.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion on both sides.

III D, 3.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion on both sides.

III D, 4.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion on both sides.

III D, 5.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion on both sides.

III D, 6.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion on both sides.

III D, 7.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion on both sides.

III D, 8.—Cross-bar showing circular lotus medallion on both sides (the other side may be seen in the adjoining gallery through the wall into which it is built).

III D, 9.—Cross-bar with weathered lotus medallion. On the projection to the left is an inscription. For details see p. 292.

To the back is a lotus medallion.

III D, 10.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

To the back is similar lotus medallion.

III D, 11.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

To the back is similar lotus medallion broken towards left top.

III D, 12.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion the central boss of which is absent. To the back is similar medallion with central boss broken.

III D, 13 (Burgess 1, pl. xiii, fig. 3).—Cross-bar with lotus medallion whose smaller closed petals form a thick band around the first circle of petals about the central boss.

To the back is a lotus medallion with left side damaged.

III D, 14.—Mutilated cross-bar showing lotus medallion on one side, and on the other, princely men wearing turbans and women adoring, towards the right end of the medallion where a bit of the sculpture is preserved. For details of inscription towards the right end of the projection of the cross-bar, see p. 293.

III D, 15.—Cross-bar showing lotus medallion on one side. The lotus on back is effaced. But towards the top left end of the back and also in the middle there is inscription for details of which see p. 293.

With one side preserved: III D, 16.—Cross-bar showing lotus medallion.

III D, 17.—Mutilated cross-bar with lotus medallion. It is not clear whether this is a cross-bar or a medallion on the back of an upright. If it is medallion on the back of a rail pillar, probably of III A, 9, it is part of that. But Burgess does not describe the pillar as having anything on the back, and being fixed in the wall it is impossible to see whether it belongs to the upright. It however looks like a cross-bar.

III D, 18 (Burgess 1, pl. xvii, fig. 1).—Cross-bar showing usual lotus medallion and a small svastika incised at the top of the projection to the right.

III D, 19.—Cross-bar showing circular lotus medallion.

III D, 20. (Burgess 1, pl. xix, fig, 3).—Cross-bar with lotus medallion in whose central knob is incised the figure of a small stupa. Towards the lower left was an inscription of which some letters remain. For particulars see p. 293.

III D, 21.—Cross-bar with lotus medallion. The lower left projection had an inscription of which a few letters remain. For particulars see p. 293.

III D, 22.—Fragment of cross-bar with lotus medallion.

III D, 23.—Cross-bar with lotus medallion whose border is composed of numerous fan-shaped frills. For details of inscription on projection to the left top see p. 294.

III D, 24.—Cross-bar with lotus medallion. The upper part of the right end has an inscription for details of which see p. 294.

III D, 25.—Part of cross-bar with lotus medallion.

III D, 26—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 27.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 28.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 29.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 30.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 31.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 32.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 33.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion,

III D, 34.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 35.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 36.—Cross-bar with circular lotus medallion.

III D, 37.—Cross-bar showing lotus medallion weathered and mutilated to the left.

III D, 38.—Cross-bar showing lotus medallion worn and mutilated on one side.

III D, 39.—Cross-bar with lotus medallion on one side and inscription on the lower right projection. For details see p. 294.

III D, 40.—Fragment of cross-bar with lotus medallion with inscription on right top projection for details of which see p. 294.

III D, 41.—Cross-bar showing lotus medallion and inscription to the top left projection. For details of this see p. 294.

III D, 42.—Piece of cross-bar showing part of lotus medallion with inscription. For details see p, 295.

E. Coping.

With both sides preserved: III E, 1.—Fragment of coping with worn sculpture on both sides. The inner side shows a king on his throne attended by two women, with chauris in the central panel and part of a tree and top of city gateway in adjacent panels.

The outer side of the fragment which is let into the wall (sculptured part is however visible) shows part of broken garland proceeding in upward and downward curves with a dharmacakra, flanked by standing worshippers in the bight.

III E, 2 (Burgess I, pl. xxviii, fig. 3),—Coping fragment badly mutilated, showing at the extreme right end a pillar surmounted by trisula (suggestive of Buddha) adored by devotees. Beyond this is a new scene; an elephant issues from between two *aṭṭālas* of a city gateway and approaches an ornamental arched gate. On the elephant is a man of noble bearing. A turbaned horseman and two footsoldiers suggest a procession. Beyond the arched gate from which emerge a man with an umbrella and a devotee, are other worshippers of rank, one of whom carries offerings. Beyond the wall in continuation of the city-gate towers are

an elephant and horse suggestive of many others which are lost, the slab being broken beyond this. It is possible as Dr. Burgess suggests that this and another piece (1, pl. xxvii, fig. 5) may have belonged to the same slab.

For a few letters of an inscription on this too weatherworn to be made out see p. 295.

The back shows the usual garland which here bears a circular shield composed of four trisulas. In the bight above there is the empty throne surmounted by the wheel adored by two worshippers. The hand of the garland bearer is all that is left of his figure.

III E, 3 (pl. lvi, figs. 1 and 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xxiv. fig. 1 and 2).—Coping slab, badly mutilated and damaged in front, showing a magnificent battle scene full of chariots, with warriors shooting arrows therefrom, charioteers managing the steeds all the while, horsemen attacking horsemen of the opposite force and infantry fighting back those of their rank. The deadly havoc done by elephants on the battle-field can also be seen in the terrible onrush of the animal trampling and tearing all before it.

An inscription that must have run the whole length below the carving is unfortunately lost except towards the end where also it is greatly damaged. For details see p. 295.

The back, which is better preserved, shows a flower garland dragged out of a crocodile's mouth in opening which a normal yaksha and yakshi tug hard. Further on the garland is borne by three bearers. In ths two upper bights are three devas carrying the turban of prince Siddhartha in a tray and three dwarfs carrying three lion busts in a tray. A circular shield with trisula pattern around a wheel and a square one with winged lions, makaras and foliage worked in it adorn the garland at points.

III E, 4 (pl. xlvii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xxvii, fig 5.)—Fragments of coping showing a king in his palace in the company of his queen attended by a woman with a fan. Below, in the courtyard, an elephant (the forepart is broken) is kneeling. To the left, an elephant with rider is issuing from the city gateway, and other men follow a horseman close by. Someone is entering the arched gateway beyond, and honour is shown him by the umbrella being held over his head. In the scene beyond this, mostly mutilated, are some devotees seated and adoring something. On the back the usual flower garland is borne by a bearer and in the bight is a stupa. The place of the shield on the garland is taken by a double makara head, back to back, through whose gaping mouth the garland appears to pass.

With inner side preserved: III E, 5.—Fragment of coping showing a man shooting with a bow from mountain top. To his left is a part of mutilated tree top of the spread tail of a peacock. In the scene to the left, also fragmentary, is a man, probably the same as in the previous scene, cautiously climbing rocks.

Above the border on the top is a fragmentary inscription. For details see p. 295.

III E, 6 (pl. xlviii, fig. 1).—Coping fragment with crowded scene. Grooms and other servants are seated and discussing near an arched gateway provided with doors. Beside them are three arches and an elephant, the mahout still lying idly on its back. Beyond this group there are some turbaned men proceeding forwards reverentially with hands joined in adoration. An attendant, the last among them, holds an umbrella over the person immediately before him who is probably a king. The trees in the background suggest a garden or a grove.

III E, 7.—Worn fragment of coping showing indistinct figures of seated men and a row of four-petalled flowers above.

III E, 8.—Small fragment either from upright or from coping showing a battle scene. Mutilated parts of horse, elephant and man can be seen.

With outer side preserved : III E, 9.—Coping fragment showing garland issuing from the mouth of a makara and carried by a man of noble bearing.

III E, 10—Similar coping piece at the extreme end of which is a standing figure adoring Buddha's feet under Bodhi tree.

III E, 11 (pl. xlv, fig. 2).—Coping fragment with two garland bearers. In the bight—the semi-circular space created by the undulating garland—there is the representation of adoration by two worshippers of Buddha's feet on a throne with dharmacakra on a pillar with lion capital.

III E, 12 (pl. xlv, fig. 3).—Coping fragment with garland issuing out of a makara's mouth and carried by a bearer. In the two semi-circular bights are the adoration of Buddha's feet on a throne, with dharmacakra pillar by a man to the right with a chauri in his hand, and adoration of the Bodhi tree on platform—with perhaps Buddha's footprints on it—by a devotee standing to the left with a bunch of flowers in his right hand and a pot in his left.

III, E, 13 (Burgess 1, pl. xxvii, fig. 4).—Back of coping fragment showing an unusually tall and narrow stupa arranged in the bight caused by the undulation of the flower garland. There is on either side of the stupa, a worshipper with hair tied up in *śikhaṇḍa* fashion, legs crossed, and with hands in adoration.

III E, 14 (pl. lvii, fig. 2 ; also Burgess 1, pl. xxiii, fig. 2).—Coping fragment with a dwarf yaksha drawing out of his mouth the usual flower garland which is supported by a bearer. In a circular shield on the garland is a representation of adoration of the stupa and in the bight above worship of the empty throne and wheel on pillar. In the mutilated bight beyond this is a worshipper.

F. Miscellaneous.

Lions : III F, 1 (pl. lviii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xlv, fig. 9 wrongly given as fig. 7).—Seated lion, with forelegs broken, which should have guarded one of the gateways of the stupa at the cardinal points.

III F, 2 (pl. lviii, fig. 1).—Seated lion completely sawn or so hewn that the slab is flat on one side. It should have been placed near one of the gateways of the rail.

III F. 3.—Legs of seated lion guardian of the gateway (broken into two).

III F. 4. (Burgess 1, pl. xlv, fig. 7 wrongly given as fig. 6).—Circular umbrella, with ribs radiating from centre, intended to go over the stupa. On the raised edge is an inscription describing it as a *chattra*. In the centre there is a circular raised boss with square hole for fixing the shaft. This was perhaps an umbrella over some small stupa as Dr. Burgess believed. For details of the inscription see p. 295.

III F, 5.—Fragment showing torso and leg of seated king.

III F, 6.—Fragment showing a dwarf, a noble-looking person (damaged) dancing, and a crouching man (all except head and shoulder is lost).

III F, 7 (Burgess I, pl. xlii, fig. 8).—Fragment of octagonal pillar which stood opposite an entrance or possibly a portion of a pilaster as Burgess says. Each face has three panels with space between the lower and second panel. The top panels show stupa surmounted by umbrellas and all the rest show nimbate Buddha standing on lotus with right hand raised in an attitude assuring protection. All along the space between the two lower rows of panels there is an inscription and a short line of inscription above on one face alone. For details see p. 295.

III F, 8 (Burgess I, pl. xliv. fig. 3).—Badly damaged top fragment of pillar carved on both sides, showing defaced half-lotus medallion separated by fluted portions. There is an inscription above half lotus at the top on one side. For details see p. 296.

III F, 9.—Piece of slab showing broken half lotus and inscription above. For details of this see p. 296.

III F. 10.—Fragment showing legs of men on a rock.

IV. FOURTH PERIOD C.A. 200-250 A.D.

A. Scenes from Buddha's Life.

IV A, 1. *Māyā's Dream and its Interpretation* (pl. lxiv, fig. 3).—Fragment of frieze with amorous mithuna between pillars as in the previous one dividing the panel to the left. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran describes the scenes thus. "The compartment shows king Suddhodana in court in the midst of his attendants and people. The next panel which

is divided from the middle one by a pillar and which is broken and incomplete shows part of the feet of Maya who is lying on a couch and dreaming that a white elephant (the Bodhist) is descending from heaven and entering her womb. The elephant is shown above. The woman who kneels by the side of the couch is one of the attendant women of Maya, and the erect and dignified person with a staff in his left hand is one of the guardian deities of the quarters who guarded Maya during her pregnancy. On the sunk band below are visible the usual animal busts and the taenia above is carved with men and animals." This differs from the sculptures described by Burgess (pl. xxviii, fig. 1) because of the additional elephant.

The frieze has an inscription on the lowermost band for details of which see p. 296.

IV A, 2. *The Miracle under the Jambū Tree.*—Fragment of pillar with the lowermost panel and a slight part of the one immediately above it preserved. A prince (nimbate) is seated under a tree and is adored by an elderly turbaned man standing to his right, a kneeling and seated woman, opposite him, and two more women to his left. In the panel above, dwarfs carry the hoofs of a horse (destroyed except for the hoofs of the hind legs). The lower panel may be interpreted as the incident under the Jambu tree and the scene above it as the departure of prince Siddhartha from Kapilavastu.

Though the story of the miracle under the Jambu tree is given in the Nidanakatha it does not answer so accurately to the scene in this sculpture as does the version given in the Avadanakalpalata. The prince as shown in the sculpture is a youth under a tree and not a child as the Nidanakatha would have it. Again the incident is put immediately before the Abhinishkramana scene in some of the pillars showing the principal scenes from the Master's life. The story of the ploughing festival as given in the Nidanakatha (pp. 74-75) is briefly this :—

A thousand ploughs were yoked on the day of the ploughing festival when king Suddhodana with all his retinue went to the fields to participate in the ploughing. Child Siddhartha was left under the shade of a Jambu tree under the care of nurses, who, after a time moved away to watch the ploughing festival. The child observing that no one was near, got up, sat crosslegged and began to meditate. The shade of the tree alone under which he sat remained in position while in the case of other trees the shadows moved. This miracle brought the wondering king to the spot and he did homage to his miraculous son. But Kshemendra (Avadanakalpalata, i, chap. xxiv, pp. 687–689 verses 92–104) has a different version. The miracle occurs after the prince had seen the miseries of life that his father had shut from his eyes.

After the sight of the recluse, he grew disgusted with worldly life. His charioteer noted this and informed Suddhodana. Once more the prince was taken out to amuse himself, and on the way he saw tired cultivators soil-stained, bruised, and hungry, pursuing their avocation, and was filled with pity for their suffering. The chariot was turned back and on the way the prince rested under the shade of a Jambu tree to escape the fierce rays of the

midday sun. The shadow of the other trees moved as time advanced but beneath the Jambu tree it was fixed. The king in the meantime came along anxiously to meet his beloved son and seeing this miracle of stationary shadow bowed to him in reverence.

IV A, 3. *The Renunciation of prince Siddhārtha* (pl. lix, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl. xlii, fig. 4).—Frieze, broken at the right end, with finely carved scenes, separated from one another by *mithuna* motif, between lotus-shaped knobs arranged in threes on either side. The *mithuna* is however replaced by Buddha adored by nagas between the scene at the right end and the one to his left. There is a creeper design for the top border all the length and a border composed of animals below and in the sunk band beneath are busts of mythical animals all along at regular intervals. The first panel shows a dignified youth before an arched gateway attended most courteously by a woman and a dwarf; to the right, amidst a number of women of rank, there is a prince seated holding three plaits of cord in his hands. A cup of wine is offered him in a tray by one of the damsels seated beside him. The *pratīhārī* kneeling below, gazes with wonder. The *mithuna* coming next shows a lady offering *madhu* (wine) to her lord, a warrior. The next panel is also a scene in a harem. A prince in the company of his wife is appreciating music in his harem, without being perturbed over the rude manner in which a person—obviously an intruder there—pulls him from his seat by a three plaited cord thrown around his waist. There are a number of armed men. The *pratīhārī* is flurried but helpless.

The scene and the next are separated by a nimbate Buddha on a seat with worshippers standing on either side beside him and a naga couple adoring from near his seat below. The last scene shows a number of adorers—all of them gods—flying in the air, obviously around some object, which is to be sought in the portion beyond this broken end.

This sculpture is excellently carved and the scenes run towards the one, to the extreme right which is broken. Dr. Burgess has correctly guessed by studying the attitude and excitement of the figures what could be the object of adoration and has described it as "another representation of the translation of the patra or begging dish". The rest of the sculpture though incomplete is fortunately preserved in the British Museum by a study of which this can be understood (Fergusson, pl. lxxxii, fig. 1). It is certain that something connected with Buddha is carried in the tray but what it is, is not clear even from the photograph. Maybe it is the begging dish; but considering the order of the panels it is probably the headdress of prince Siddhartha. Beside the scene, with the devas around the object in the tray, is a scene representing prince Siddhartha presenting Channa with his jewels, before renouncing the world, and beyond it is a scene of sermon preached to nagas and naginis by someone seated on a throne in European fashion and described by Fergusson as a Bodhisatta, but whose figure is not clear enough in the picture for identification.

Of the other scenes in the part of the slab in the Madras Museum, that of seated Buddha preaching to the nagaraja and nagini that adore from below, is in one of the small intermediate

panels that separate one large panel from another and is not strictly speaking in the order and sequence which is expected in the larger panels. This is just in the place of the couples enjoying wine (*madhupāna*). It may represent the rejoicing of nagas along with other devas, on the Master successfully repulsing Mara's hosts, as given in the Nidanakatha (p. 101). "And the Nagas, and the Winged Creatures, and the Angels, and the Archangels, each urging his comrades on, went up to the Great Being at the Bo-tree's foot and they came,

At the Bo-tree's foot the Naga bands
  Shouted, for joy that the Sage had won ;
'The Blessed Buddha—he hath prevailed !
  And the tempter is overthrown !' "

The three other panels beside it may be identified as prince Siddhartha struggling to renounce the pleasures of a prince. The first panel shows the prince entering an arched gateway, attended respectfully by a woman, obviously the *pratihārī* and a *vāmana* dwarf servant in the palace. This is probably his entering the harem. The next scene shows him amidst royal women in his harem. The *pratīhārī* is shown on the floor. One of the ladies offers the prince wine. This is suggestive of life of pleasure his father encouraged. The prince holds three threads fondly, and ponders over them, one of them still dangling and not held up like the rest. The cords are again repeated in the third scene. Here the prince is seated on a throne with his wife listening to music, and is surrounded on all sides by soldiers, who pull at him by the triple cord passed around his waist. This probably signifies the triple pleasure palaces provided by king Suddhodana who set a strong guard around the harem wherein the prince is almost shut up so as not to know the miseries of the world, only the pleasures of the sweet life amidst singing and dancing women appearing always before his eyes. The three cords may also signify *tanha, arati* and *rāga*, the three lusts personified as Mara's daughters, whom, as Buddha, the prince later overcame, but which now held him in their grasp.

Below the row of animal busts there is a narrow elevate strip with weathered inscription for details of which see p. 296.

IV A, 4. *Scenes ending with Māra's claim of Bodhisatta's Seat* (pl. lxiii, fig. 4).—Small frieze broken at both ends and containing three scenes from Buddha's life separated by *mithunas* flanked by lotus medallion knobs.

The scenes have been identified by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran and they may be described in order from right to left. The first scene is that of prince Siddhartha becoming an ascetic after renouncing his princely belongings. The story in the Nidanakatha (pp. 85-86) says that "The Bodhisat, getting down from the horse's back, stood on sandy beach, extending there like a sheet of silver and said to Channa, 'Good Channa, do thou go back, taking my

ornaments and Kanthaka. I am going to become a hermit'." Channa prayed that he should also be made a hermit, but the prince refused and insisted on his returning to Kapilavatthu.

Having delivered his ornaments to Channa, the prince thought that his locks ill-suited a mendicant, but no one except himself would cut the hair of a future Buddha. So "taking his sword in his right hand and holding the plaited tresses, together with the diadem on them, with his left, he cut them off. So his hair was thus reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, it lay close to his head. It remained that length as long as he lived, and the beard the same. There was no need to shave either hair or beard any more."

The prince now threw the hair and diadem in the air and it remained there indicating that he was destined to become the Buddha; and Sakka "receiving it into a jewel casket, a league high, placed it in Tavatimsa heaven, in the Dagaba of the Diadem".

The sculpture shows prince Siddhartha divesting himself of all kingly ornaments and apparel and giving them away to his charioteer Channa. Devas are removing his head dress to their kingdom. Kanthaka, the horse on which he rode to the forest, is shown grazing behind him.

The second panel shows Sujata feeding the Bodhisatta. The story is given on p. 253 where a larger sculpture representing the same scene is explained.

The sculpture shows Sujata with her attendant woman going to Buddha and prevailing on him to partake of the rice milk she specially prepared for him. Her baby boy is seated close by.

The last scene is that of Mara claiming Bodhisatta's seat. The story as given in the Nidanakatha (pp. 96-101) is briefly this:—Bodhisatta, after spreading the grass obtained from Sotthiya on his seat, sat on it with the firm determination to rise again only after obtaining enlightenment. But Mara knowing that the prince was freeing himself from his domination approached him with his hosts armed with all sorts of weapons. The gods including Sakka and Mahabrahma, and the nagas including Kalanagaraja, all fled at the approach of the huge army led by Mara.

Aware of the power of Siddhartha, Mara feared to give battle face to face and attacked from behind. With his virtues as his shield the Bodhisatta sat meditating. Mara tried all his fearful methods of torture but the Bodhisatta sat unperturbed as no missile of Mara could approach him.

Mara now approached the future Buddha and cried out, "Get up, Siddhartha, from that seat! It does not belong to thee! It is meant for me!"

The Great Being listened to his words, and said "Mara! it is not by you that the Ten Cardinal Virtues have been perfected, nor the lesser Virtues, nor the higher Virtues.

It is not you who have sacrificed yourself in the five great Acts of Self-renunciation, who have diligently sought after Knowledge, and the Salvation of the world, and the attainment of Wisdom. This seat does not belong to thee, it is to me that it belongs."

Mara, more furious than ever hurled all sorts of weapons at his enemy but it was all of no use. The Bodhisatta asked Mara who was his witness for the alms that he had given, and all his hosts shouted forth as he pointed to them. Mara now asked the Bodhisatta who was the witness of his gifts. Though he had no living witness beside him, the Bodhisattva, not counting the alms given by him in other births, called on Earth, unconscious though she was, to "be witness of the sevenhundredfold great alms" he gave as prince Vessantara. He stretched his right hand towards the earth "and the great Earth uttered a voice, saying, 'I am witness to thee of that!' overwhelming as it were the hosts of the Evil One as with the shout of hundreds of thousands of foes." And then the hosts of Mara fled defeated.

Mara is shown in the sculpture vainly taunting Buddha. Buddha is serene and at his call Mother Earth responds and is just below his seat.

IV A. 5. *Sujātā feeds the Bodhisattva* (pl. lx, fig. 2).—Slab broken near the top and weathered at the right end showing Buddha (headless) seated on a throne and women attending on him with great devotion while some are requesting him to partake of food brought by them.

The scene has been identified by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran as from the story of Sujata who fed the Bodhisattva with milk-food on the day of his enlightenment. The story as given in the Nidanakatha (pp. 91-94) is this:—

Senani, a rich landowner of Uruvela, had a daughter named Sujata who prayed to a Nigrodha tree promising to give a rich offering if she married a husband of equal status and had a son for her first-born child.

Her desire was fulfilled and she prepared to make the offering. She fed five hundred cows with the milk of a thousand richly fed cows and with the milk of the former fed two hundred and fifty and so on down to eight. With the milk of these she cooked rich milk-rice [1] into which the gods infused the sap of life.

Sujata marvelled at the wondeful miracles as the food was cooked and sent her slave girl Punna to watch the holy place under the tree. The Bodhisatta, having concluded from his dream that he would attain enlightenment that very day, proceeded to the tree and sat at its foot illuminating the surroundings. Punna returned with the story of how their god had descended from the tree and was seated there lighting up the place.

Sujata now hurried to the place carrying the milk-rice in a vessel of gold. 'Taking the vessel from her hand she uncovered it; and fetching sweet-scented water in a golden vase, she approached the Bodhisatta, and stood by.' This offering of Sujata, Bodhisatta accepted, and after his meal threw the golden vessel into the river Neranjara, and it went against the current to indicate that he would attain enlightenment that day.

[1] A kind of porridge.

The sculpture shows Buddha seated on a throne and Sujata offering him food. The vessel containing it is covered and is to be opened after the offering of water in the *Bhṛngārā* or jug with handle. The child of Sujata is also shown adoring, but he is here a little boy. Punna and other attendants of Sujata are shown.

IV A, 6. *The Temptation* (pl. lx, fig. 1).—Slab mutilated but excellently preserved showing Buddha (headless) seated on throne and attacked by dwarfs, a bow-man and women. Mr. Ramachandran in describing this, says "that the whole would represent the temptation of the Buddha by Mara, who sent goblins to distract his attention and his daughters to guide him into the path of vice."

IV A, 7. *The Conversion of Nanda* (pl. lxii. fig. 1; also Burgess 1 pl. xlii, fig. 6).—Part of a frieze showing nimbate Buddha standing under a tree with monks beside him, children pulling at some, and a monkey seated close by. To the right, a man is rushing towards Buddha, and women watch from the windows of a mansion close by. To the left are lovely women under a tree seated and standing, one of them adoring Buddha, at whose feet she kneels; other charming damsels also adore Buddha towards the top corner. Beneath the frieze are busts of mythical animals at intervals in the sunk band below a narrow border of running animals.

This sculpture has been identified by Dr. Coomaraswamy (8, p. 248) as representing a scene from one of the stories of the Avadana Sataka. Dr. Coomaraswamy says that Dr. Vogel's paper "The Woman and Tree or Salabhanjika in Indian Literature and Art," makes it easy to identify this sculpture with the story of the girl who worshipped Buddha with Sal flowers at Sravasti. The story is briefly as follows :—

Once, when the Salabhanjika or the Sal flower gatheing festival was being celebrated at Sravasti, Buddha was going with his monks to beg for alms. A merchant's daughter, struck with his noble bearing, used her flowers to worship him. She climbed the Sal tree to pluck more, slipped down and died. She was instantly born as one of the celestial beings in heaven.

But the scene does not appear to be that. There should be an explanation for the monkey seated on a low trunk of a tree. The publication of the book on Nagarjunakonda sculptures helps us to understand this sculpture, for there are monkeys shown with divine nymphs in the Nagarjunakonda sculpture representing Nanda's life. Even the text giving the story refers to the burnt stump on which was the ugly monkey shown by Buddha to Nanda. The represention in the sculpture points more towards the story of Buddha's lesson to Nanda than the Sal flower incident at Sravasti. The story as narrated in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (i, pp. 218-223) is as follows :—

When Buddha came for alms, placed the bowl in Nanda's hnnds, and proceeded to his monastery, Nanda followed him much against his will, his heart yearning after his tear-faced lovely wife Janapadakalyani who with half-combed hair ran after him beseeching

him to return to his palace. Arrived at the monastery he was ordained a monk but his thoughts were wandering towards his lovely spouse.

Buddha, desirous of strengthening him in ascetic life, took him one day to the World of the Thirty-three. On the way he pointed out to an ugly monkey seated on a burnt tree stump. Arrived in the World of the Thirty-three, Buddha showed Nanda five hundred pink-footed nymphs and asked him to compare their beauty with that of Janapadakalyani. Nanda saw that they were as superior in beauty to his spouse as she was to the ugly monkey he saw on the way. Buddha promised him these nymphs if he adhered to his asceticism with zeal. Soon Nanda became a rigorous monk, and with the first dawn of knowledge which kills all desire of the heart he thought no more of the celestial nymphs, who were no longer his goal.

The sculpture represents some ladies in a palace and a prince with face turned towards the palace hurrying after monks, with something in his left hand which may be the bowl of Buddha. His right hand is in an attitude of reassurance to the women in the balcony. The next episode of the story—Nanda as an unwilling monk pining for his home—is suggested by a monk being pulled by children. This is his dream of his married life and home. A woman near a tree—suggestive of pleasure garden—behind the thought-engrossed monk is also appropriate. Further up, there is the scene of Buddha and Nanda, the despondent monk, hurrying to heaven. On the way they see the ugly old monkey on a half-burnt stump of a tree. Finally the divine nymphs are shown near a tree, perhaps the wishing-tree so famous in heaven. Other divine damsels are shown to the left top.

IV A, 8. *Conversion of Nandā* (pl. lxiii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xli, fig. 5).—Fragment of slab, broken at the top with panels one above the other. The lowest panel shows an amorous scene. A loving royal pair are in the harem where the *pratīhārī* is in attendance. Buddha has approached the arched gateway, and the prince, now come out from the harem, is holding the Master's bowl. The panel above shows the Master teaching his followers while the prince of the previous panel is sitting dejected near the seat of Buddha. The top panel which is broken was once intact and has been figured by Dr. Burgess. There Sakra (easily distinguished by his crown) is seated on a throne surrounded by his nymphs and Buddha shows them to his companion, a monk.

All these three scenes in the sculpture have been identified by Prof. Foucher (2, p. 22) as representing the story of Nanda and his beautiful wife. The story has already been given on p. 254 when explaining another sculpture representing the same story. Dr. Coomaraswamy (9, pp. 73–74), however, thinks that it is only the lowest panel that represents the story of Nanda. He has described the stele; "Three especially beautiful compositions are found on the stele which is reproduced by Burgess only on a small scale. The complete stele must have consisted of four or more panels. The three remaining must be understood in order from above downwards; all are connected with the return of the Buddha to Kapilavaitu. In the

upper panel, king Suddhodana is seated with his wife in his palace. Kneeling at his feet, overcome by grief, and half supported by another woman is Yasodhara, the Buddha's wife; she is telling her father that her husband stands without, in the robes of a wandering monk, begging his food. It is more than her heart can bear. And actually, the nimbate figure of the Buddha, in earnest conversation with one of his followers, is seen beyond the palace wall. The worldly luxury of the palace and the majestic simplicity of the monk are dramatically contrasted. It is a matter of detail, not without interest, that here the king is represented as wearing the cylindrical headdress above referred to; this is perhaps the earliest instance in Indian Art of the representation of an earthly king as *kiriṭin*.

"The second compartment I cannot certainly identify more precisely than as representation of Buddha among the Sakyas: it is perhaps the visit of Yasodhrara. The Buddha is seated, speaking; around him are male and female figures, of whom only one is a monk. At his feet are a kneeling woman and a seated youth (Yasodhara and Rahula ?); the former has her head covered with a veil, very rare costume in the early art. M. Foucher (2 p, 22) recognizes Nanda grieving for his lost wife, but I cannot think this possible.

"The subject of the third relief is clear: it is the wedding of Nanda. He is seen to the left seated with his newly married and still shy bride within a palace; on the right he is seen again carrying the Buddha's bowl and following him. The Buddha will make him a disciple and he will never return to his wife. The two episodes are conventionally separated by the torana of Nanda's palace gateway."

But the two upper panels are also representations of the same story continued, the panels proceeding from bottom to top. The second panel is as Foucher has pointed out "Nanda grieving for his lost wife" being made a monk against his will. There are no women in the scene.

The topmost panel shows Sakka witth Suja seated on his throne, Beyond him above are celestial nymphs. Buddha points to them and asks Nanda who stands beside him what he thinks of them as compared to Janapadakalyani whose superior beauty he has already asked him to contrast with the ugliness of the monkey shown seated to the extreme left top; Nanda points to the monkey and says that Janapadakalyani is as inferior to the celestial nymphs as she is superior to the monkey.

IV A, 9, *Rāhula asks his Inheritance* (pl, lxii, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl, xlii, fig. 5).— Fragment showing a single *mahāpursha* or noble person—and not a guard as Burgess suggests—in the place of the usual *mithuna* (amorous pair) that separates different panels; the knobs with lotus pattern are replaced here by pillars flanking the *mahāpurusha*. Buddha

with halo around his head stands with right hand raised in the attitude of assurance and teaching. Around him are a number of women, all in an attitude of adoration. A boy is being urged to approach him. To his right is Vajrapani.

The sculpture has been identified by Foucher (2, p. 23) as representing the meeting of Buddha and Rahula in the palace at Kapilavatthu. The story as given in the Dhammapad-atthakatha (i, p. 219) is briefly as follows :—

When the Master was residing in Veluvana at Rajagaha his father Suddhodana sent ten ambassadors to him to fetch him to Kapilavatthu. After nine ambassadors had met him and attained arahatship and no more thought of returning, elder Kala Udayi conducted the Master to Kapilavatthu. Arrived again in his own city, the Master preached the law to his father and Mahapajapati.

On the seventh day of his stay at Kapilavatthu, the mother of Rahula adorned the prince and pointing out to him his father, told him that this glorious monk who was at the head of the congregation possessed great stores of treasure and instructed him to ask him of this, his inheritance.

The prince accordingly approached the Exalted One, and being filled with affection for his father spoke to him pleasantly and followed him, as he left after his meal in the palace, requesting him to give him inheritance. None could stop him and he followed the Exalted One to the Veluvana. Buddha, perceiving that the ordinary paternal inheritance that he could give was impermanent, decided to give him the noble inheritance that he obtained under the Bodhi tree.

The Exalted One therefore called Sariputta and asked him to admit the prince into the Order. When the old king Suddhodana learnt that Rahula was made a monk he was highly grieved and making known his sorrow to Buddha requested him to promise never more to receive any youth into the Order without the consent of his father and mother.

The sculpture shows Rahula being brought near Buddha and tutored to ask his inheritance. Buddha is leaving the palace. The mother of the prince and her companion are respectfully standing aside, watching the boy as he approaches his father. This is one of the most touching scenes in Buddha's life.

There is an inscription in the narrow strip below the sunk band ornamented with busts of mythical animals immediately beneath the scene. For particulars of inscription see p. 297.

IV A, 10. *Principal Scenes from Buddha's Life* (Burgess 1, pl. xlviii, fig. 4).—Frieze in excellent preservation showing artistic rail pattern, with lotus medallions on pillars and cross-bars, lions decorating the middle ones of the latter, making room for three scenes from the life of the Master at regular intervals. The first shows two seated worshippers and two standing chauri-bearers adoring on empty throne with seat on footrest and wheel on pillar behind the seat ; the second shows two women kneeling and two men standing beside

a stupa which they worship; the third shows Maya's dream of the descent of Bodhisattva as an elephant, as the four guardians of the quarters and one of her own attendant women watch her asleep on her couch. There is all the length a border on top composed of a flower garland and one at the bottom of creepers; in the sunk band below are rectangular depressions at intervals. Lower down on elevate surface is an inscription. For details see p. 297.

IV A, 11. (Burgess 1, pl. xlii, fig. 1).—Fragment of what must once have been a slab containing four of the principal events from Buddha's life of which the lowermost panel is all that is left. The sculpture represents prince Siddhartha under the Jambu tree adored by Sakyas. Above the border separating this panel from the next may be seen just a little of the dwarfs who caught the hoofs of Kanthaka as the prince left Kapilavastu at dead of night. There is a border of circular lotuses below. Dr. Burgess says (1, p. 78) that this was obtained from the temple of Amaresvara.

IV A, 12. (pl. lxiv, fig. 1; also Rea 2, pl. xlvii, 2).—Fragments showing three scenes from Buddha's life in panels one below the other. The lowest may be identified as prince Siddhartha (shown nimbate) giving away his jewels to Channa before he retired from the world. The faithful charioteer is receiving them in his upper garment. The second scene shows the empty throne with wheel on pillar behind and two deer in front, a devotee adoring standing on either side. This represents the first sermon at the deer park. In the topmost panel Buddha is seated on a throne, flanked by two devotees standing beside him and adored by two more who kneel opposite him.

IV A, 13. (pl. lxiii, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl. xli, fig. 6).—Slab with four scenes one below the other broken into two pieces at the top and mutilated to the left. It represents in the lowest panel prince Siddhartha's flight from Kapilavastu on his horse Kanthaka attended by his groom Channa. Dwarf yakshas hold the hoofs of the horse and devas attend on the prince holding an umbrella over his head. In the panel above, the daughters of Mara are attempting to wean Buddha away from his firm resolve to attain supreme enlightenment. The third panel shows Buddha (his head is broken) preaching at Mrgadava or the deer park suggested by two deer in front of his throne. In the topmost panel is a stupa worshipped by two women one on either side, the figure of one of whom is lost (the portion to the left being broken); celestial beings hover above the stupa with offerings and if what one of them to the left carries is, as it appears, the turban of Siddhartha, it is a *pāribhogika stūpa, i.e.*, for holding something enjoyed by the Master. The stupa however being a symbol of parinirvana, the principal scenes from the life of the Master are here depicted. There is an inscription at the top of the slab. For details see p. 297.

IV A, 14.—Fragment showing devas from above carrying the head-dress of a prince below, prince Siddhartha while others watch respectfully.

There is a mutilated inscription on top. For details see p. 298.

IV A, 15. (Burgess 1, pl. xliii. fig. 12).—Small frieze, with an elongate panel, showing five devas dancing, the central one carrying Buddha's bowl on a tray (see Burgess 1, p. 84), flanked by a fluted rail pillar, with half discs above and below, on the left, and three others on the right, connected by pairs of cross-bars. The medallion of the upper cross-bar between the first two uprights shows a drummer and the lower medallion of the next an elephant. To the extreme right is a tree. There is a floral border on top and border composed of winged animals below running the whole length. Between the lower border and plain elevate lowermost moulding there is a long narrow sunken strip with four rectangular depressions.

IV A, 16.—Weatherworn fragment showing scenes from Buddha's life of which the topmost panel and part of the one immediately below are preserved. They show the caitya, symbol of Buddha's death, above, and a head with aureole in the scene of Buddha's first sermon or enlightenment below.

IV A, 17. *The Stupa of Rāmagrāma* (pl. lxi, fig. 1; also Burgess 1, pl. xl, fig. 2).—Large slab, cracked towards left top, showing stupa on lotus encased by naga slabs. The naga slabs have five-hooded snakes seated on coils, are separated by rail pillars, decorated with flutes and rosettes, and support rail pattern coming on the top. Above this the drum of the stupa is encircled by three five-hooded snakes whose coils are intertwined in knots. Over the drum is the *harmika* and above it an army of parasols clustering like thick foliage. A nagaraja stands on either side of the stupa, one of them wearing *yajñopavīta* and *udarabandha* and holding in his hands a nosegay of flowers from which a bee sucks honey. Beside each kneels a nagi with hands joined or raised in adoration of the stupa. Above the stupa hover two nagarajas with offerings, one on either side (the figure to the right is defaced and lost).

This has been identified by Dr. Foucher (2, p. 17) as representing the stupa of Ramagrama guarded by nagas. The story as narrated by Hieun Thsang who visited the desolate country of Ramagrama to the south-west of the capital of which was the stupa is given by Vogel (2, pp. 130, 127-28). It is briefly this:—

Near the stupa raised by the King of Ramagrama over the relics of Buddha that he obtained after the Master's nirvana was a lake whence often came a naga with transformed figure to circumambulate it. Wild elephants also came in herds to honour the stupa by scattering flowers on it.

When later, Asoka, after opening the seven original stupas, dividing the relics into smaller portions and building a number of stupas, came to open the stupa of Ramagrama, the naga, fearing the desecration of the sacred edifice, assumed the guise of a Brahman, approached the king and requested him to visit his dwelling after revealing himself to him as the naga king of the lake. The king assented and came to the naga's abode. The naga now related to him how as a consequence of evil *karma* he was born a naga and was

adoring the relics of Buddha to atone for those former evil deeds; and asked Asoka to inspect the stupa to worship. The king saw that the naga appliances for worship were quite different from any used by mortals and being awestruck confessed the fact. The naga now requested Asoka not to destroy the stupa, and the king seeing that he could not match his strength with that of the naga desisted from opening the stupa to remove the relics.

The sculpture shows two nagarajas and their consorts on either side of the stupa, and two more fluttering above, all adoring the sacred edifice. The five-hooded cobras entwining the stupa are zealously guarding it. Dr. Vogel believes that the great canopy of umbrellas above the stupa is reminiscent of the legend wherein a number of parasols[1] were produced by the nagas to honour Buddha as the Master crossed the Ganges. "Now when Buddha crossed the river, King Bimbisāra honoured him by means of five hundred parasols. So did the people of Vaisali. When the nagas of the Ganga, Kambala and Asvatara noticed this, they, too, produced five hundred parasols".[2]

B. Scenes from Buddha's previous Lives (Jatakas and Avadānas).

IV B. 1. *Vessantara the Generous Prince. Vessantara Jātaka* (pl. lxiii, fig. 5; also Burgess 1, pl, xliii, fig. 2).—Frieze showing scenes in panels running from right to left. The story carved on this narrow strip has been identified by Foucher (2, p. 15) as that of prince Vessantara which runs as follows:—

When prince Sanjaya succeeded to his father's throne in the kingdom of Sivi he married princess Phusati, renowned for her beauty. Phusati bore him a son who was named Vessantara from the circumstances of his birth. The prince was an incarnation of generosity, and in fact started giving gifts from the moment of his birth, his first words spoken to his mother, as soon as he was born, being a query as to whether there was anything with her that he could give away as charity. At the time he was born a divine elephant left its young one in the royal stables for prince Vessantara. When the prince came of age he married princess Maddi who bore him a son and a daughter, Jali and Kanhajina. He constructed six alms-halls where every day mounted on his magnificent elephant he personally supervised the distribution of alms.

At this time there was a great drought in Kalinga and do what penance he could, the king of that land did not succeed in getting a downpour. Thereon his subjects assembled in his court and told him that the presence of the elephant of Vessantara brought on rain whereever it went and persuaded him to send Brahmans to fetch it. Accordingly the Brahmans went to Jetuttara the city of Vessanta, to beg of him noble animal. The request was no sooner made that the prince gave away the priceless elephant with its rich ornaments to the Brahmans who took it away in great joy to Kalinga. But the people of Jetuttara were

[1] Vogel 1, p. 130. [2] Ibid p. 118.

furious to hear that Vessantara gave away their invaluable animal which was responsible for the prosperity of the kingdom. They therefore flocked to the king to tell him about the gift given away by the prince without regard for their welfare. The king fearing that his infuriated subjects might otherwise attempt to take the life of his beloved son consented to banish him from his city to the forest. The prince gave away all his wealth in charity and in the company of his wife and children, who refused to allow him to go alone, started in a chariot drawn by horses. The prince went along giving away all that was left of his wealth. Four Brahmans came to request him to give away his horses and he readily gave them away. But four gods in the guise of deer (*rohita*) came to take the place of the horses. As they went along another Brahman begged of him the chariot which was no sooner asked than given and that very moment the deer disappeared. They then took their children and walked along, nor did they stop in the kingdom of Ceta where the people beseached Vessantara to be their king, till they reached mount Vanka. Here they dwelt in a hermitage caused to be built for them by Sakka and led the life of hermits, eating roots and wild fruits which Maddi used to get every day from the forest.

Now an old hen-pecked Brahman from Kalinga desirous of procuring a pair of young slaves to help his youthful wife, went to the land of the Sivis, and learning there that prince Vessantara was banished from the kingdom for his excess of generosity made his way to the mountain where the prince stayed with his wife and children. He approached Vessantara when Maddi was away in the forest collecting roots and fruits and begged of him his children. The prince who loved his children exceedingly gave them away to the Brahman with the request that they should be taken to his father who would give him all that he wanted in his joy at getting his grandchildren back. But the Brahman did not agree and took them away with him, treating the poor children very harshly and beating them with creepers. When Maddi returned and found the hermitage bare and lonely she lamented for her children, searching for them everywhere in the forest ; and the prince for a time-spoke not a word of his gift since that might break her heart. Finally he told her of the great gift he had made and how the earth rumbled when such a noble gift was given.

Sakka now thought that it was quite possible for a vile person to approach the noble prince Vessantara to request of him his wife Maddi herself, and to avoid any such calamity, he himself took the shape of a Brahman and went to the hermitage to beg of him the person of Maddi. The prince, though he valued his wife highly did not deny her to the Brahman, but in his usual way drew his water pitcher, poured water into his hands, and gave away his beloved wife. She, in her turn, never upbraided him for the act, but sweetly consented to whatever her lord did with her. Again there were miracles and the earth rumbled. Sakka revealed himself to the prince, a prince among the bounteous, and gave him seven boons.

Now, the wicked Brahman who had carried away the children in order to take them to Kalinga took the wrong road and reached Jetuttara the capital of the Sivis. There the king saw his grandchildren in the company of the Brahman and with great joy ransomed them.

King Sanjaya now heard from Jali and Kanhajina of the sufferings of Vessantara and Maddi in the forest, and thither with his fourfold army he went, accompanied by his queen and his grandchildren, to welcome back his son to his kingdom. When all of them returned to Jetuttara, Vessantara succeeded his father as king and perpetually gave away gifts from an unfailing treasure house, a present to him from Sakka.

The scenes of the story carved on the slab proceed from right to left. The first scene shows Vessantara beside his elephant with a pitcher in his hand to pour water into the hands of the Brahmans from Kalinga. The Brahmans are opposite the prince eagerly receiving the gift. The next scene shows the people of Jetuttara complaining to the king, Vessantara's father, of the unpardonable generosity of his son who gave away the elephant that accounted for the prosperity of the kingdom. The king is seated on his royal throne under the white umbrella and is listening to the complaints of his subjects. The next scene shows Vessantara gifting away his car to one who asked him for that. It has here to be noted that the sculptor has deviated from the text and shown an ox-cart instead of a carriage drawn by horses. Locality and accustomed sights account for this rural type of car being carved even for a royal personage like Vessantara, who, according to the text, rode to the forest in a fine chariot. The perspective of the bullock-cart in this sculpture is defective and this is quite apparent in the position of the bulls almost one above another and the pole of the vehicle which is shown in an impossible position. Though the two previous scenes were separated by a pilaster with kudu-shaped top, there is no such division between this scene and the next. Here Vessantara and Maddi are shown carrying their children and approaching the hermitage built for them by Sakka. The row of trees on the way and near the hermitage indicate the approach to the forest and the forest itself.

The scenes between those sculptured here and the further scenes after the last are graphically portrayed in the long frieze from Goli where the story of Vessantara is narrated with the wealth of details (Ramachandran, T.N. 2, pl. iv, v and vi). The prince proceeding to the almonry on his magnificent elephant attended by his retinue, the presentation of the children, and the return of Maddi after her hunt for roots and fruits to find the children missing, and the restoration of the children to their grandfather are additional scenes here. The presentation of the cart, so laconic at Amaravati, is carved at greater length at Goli, where first the chariot is with the bulls and later bereft of them and drawn by the prince and princess with the children in it adding pathos to the situation. The text, however, states that red deer took the place of horses. The scene of the complaint of the citizens to Vessantara's father to get him banished carved at Amaravati is however absent at Goli.

IV B, 2. *The Stories of Sarvamdada and Vidhurapandita* (Burgess 1, pl. xliii, fig. 1).— Frieze showing a number of scenes. In the scene to the left where the slab is mutilated towards the edge Buddha with aureole is seated, attended by chauri-bearers, preaching to disciples of rank as may be judged from their turbans. In the next panel a king is seated

on his throne amidst his ministers. He has a bird in the left hand and is addressing a hunter. Lower down, he is cutting flesh from his thigh and a balance is held for receiving it. This is a representation of the Buddhist version (Sarvamdadavadana) of the Hindu story of Sibi. In the third panel a noble-looking person is seated preaching to a naga couple and a prince seated opposite him, while others listen from around his seat. This may be identified as Vidhurapandita preaching in the naga world to the naga queen who desired to have his heart, *i.e.*, his doctrine. The prince seated facing the naga king and queen should be taken as Punnaka the yaksha who brings Vidhurapandita thither. The story has been shown elsewhere also at Amaravati (above 235-239) and this same scene occurs on the medallion of a cross-bar (above p. 239). The last panel shows the stupa with three umbrellas running sideways.

C. Stupa Slabs.

IV C, 1 (pl. lix, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. i).—Slab representing a typical stupa—the large one at Amaravati as it should have been. It is flanked by cakra pillars and has a frieze on top.

The cakra pillars stand behind the empty throne suggestive of Buddha who is adored by two pairs of devotees one pair seated and one standing. The shaft of the pillar is composed of a number of fluted bulbous parts supported by dwarfs and quaint animals in threes. Dwarfs on fantastic animals are galloping away from the shaft all along on either side. The topmost figures are two lovely dancers. They in all probability represent the hosts of Mara and his daughters that the Bodhisattva overcame before he became the Buddha and turned the wheel of law. The shaft culminates in a flat pedestal for a pair of lions bearing the manyspoked wheel decorated with trisula border. Dwarfs and devas sound musical instruments above it.

The frieze on top comes immediately above a triple border of mutilated inscription and rows of lions. There are three scenes from Buddha's life with adoring naga pairs between, all the five groups having three small lotus medallions one above another between them. The first scene with empty throne surrounded by sleeping damsels has the departure of prince Siddhartha from his royal home for its theme. The central scene is that of the Bodhisattva—shown anthropomorphically—overcoming Mara, his evil hosts and alluring daughters. The third scene suggests the enlightened Master by the empty throne under the Bodhi tree adored by monks, laymen and women alike. The presence of the *kañcuki* to the extreme top left suggests royalty among the worshippers.

The stupa is surrounded by a rail with three gates perceivable. The perspective has here been modified by the sculptor in order to show as much of the detail as possible, for the stupa is raised above railing and portions of the railing flanking the entrance shown in the middle, which should project straight forwards as indicated in the case of the entrances shown on either side, are opened out sufficiently to show the sculpture on the inner faces

of their copings. The plinth, uprights, cross-bars, coping and guardian lions of the railing are all shown together with the *pūrṇakalaśas* on either side of the entrance. The drum of the stupa with *vedikā*, *āyaka* pillars and casing slabs is shown immediately behind the rail, the parambulatory passage between which is suggested by steps and moonstone in front of the *vedikā*. Distinguished worshippers or yakshas, *dharmacakra* pillars and nagas are among the carvings that encase the drum of which a dharmacakra slab, evidently representing one of those from the second period (above, p. 173) is fully seen through the entrance in the railing. Above this comes a frieze showing scenes from the Jatakas. Above this and immediately facing each gateway are five ayaka pillars. The lower part of the dome of the stupa is decorated with scenes from Buddha's life—the descent of the Bodhisattva in the form of an elephant from the Tushita heaven, Mayadevi's dream and its interpretation, the birth of prince Siddhartha in the Lumbini garden, the adoration of the future Buddha by the yaksha Sakyavardhana and the miracle under the Jambu tree the shadow of which remained stationary all the day to protect the baby prince Siddhartha who was left there by the Sakyas as they enjoyed the ploughing festival. After a blank space come festoon decorations and medallions showing scenes from the life of the Master. At the top of the dome is a *harmika* (above p. 23) fenced by cross-bars and uprights and with its octagonal shaft crowned by four *kudus* facing the four cardinal points. Umbrellas stand above the corners of the rail. Divine beings, including nagas and dwarf yakshas, adore the stupa with offerings in trays, hold up umbrellas and sound musical instruments such as the conch and drum. The bottom of the entire carving, including the cakra pillars, has a frieze of animals. For particulars of inscription below top frieze see p, 298.

This and other similar slabs with stupa representation encased the large stupa and sometimes also smaller votive stupas beside it. The uniformity of height of the casing slabs of the drum for both independently proved by Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil is confirmed by inscriptional evidence (see below pp. 271 and 298).

IV, C, 2.—Mutilated slab showing stupa part of whose dome is broken and missing. Facing the gate is a naga on the *vedikā* of the drum. The rail is simple and is ornamented with alternating lions and lotuses. A row of beautiful elephants reverentially approaching a Bodhi tree in the centre from the lower border.

IV C, 3.—Weatherworn mutilated slab, showing part of stupa, with a five-hooded naga in the centre, opposite the gateway, adored by worshippers. Dwarfs, with trays on their heads, receive offerings on either side of the entrance.

IV C, 4.—Mutilated slab with representation of a stupa. Nimbate Buddha, on a lion throne under a Bodhi tree, adored by two naginis, faces the gateway. Offerings of flowers are received by dwarfs in trays on their heads.

IV C, 5.—Mutilated and worn slab showing a stupa, opposite whose entrance is the empty throne surmounted by wheel (worn and effaced) flanked by deer—suggestive of the

first sermon at the deer park—adored by devotees. Dwarfs carry trays and flank the entrance to receive offerings brought in vessels.

IV C, 6.—Small weatherworn fragment of slab representing stupa, opposite whose entrance is a scene of the adoration of the Buddha—also multilated. The frieze above and part of lion and rail is to be seen to the left.

IV C, 7.—Broken slab with stupa representation showing nimbate Buddha seated under the Bodhi tree, adored by worshippers, opposite the entrance, which is flanked by dwarfs who receive offerings.

IV C, 8 (Burgess 1, pl. xxxi, fig. 7).—Multilated slab, cracked into two towards the right representing a stupa. The rail coping shows carvings of men and animals (lions with and without riders, elephants and men) in the place of the garland bearers and flower garland. Dwarfs carry trays on either side of the entrance and devotees give their offerings. Two *pūrṇakalaśas* flank the entrance. Facing the entrance, Buddha is seated on the coils of Mucilinda, attended by two chauri-bearers, and adored by two devotees and two naginis kneeling, and two nagarajas standing with their hands raised in *añjali* over their head. The drum is ornamented with the usual carvings. Within the rail are tall pillars with capitals similar to the ones in Burgess 1, pl. xxxi, fig. 6, which Burgess thinks remind us of the Asoka *lats* in northern India and the iron pillar at Delhi (Burgess 1, p. 72)

IV C, 9 (Burgess 1, pl. xxxi fig. 6).—Mutilated slab representing stupa. The coping of the rail shows animals and men instead of the garland. *Pūrṅakalaśas* and dwarfs carrying trays flank the entrance. A woman is seated selling flowers as it appears and a monk is standing on either side of the gate. Buddha is carved opposite the entrance, seated on the *vajrāsana* throne, overcoming the dwarfs and Mara on elephant, shown advancing on one side and retreating on the other. Two devotees kneel and adore. Immediately above is a panel showing the miracle under the Jambu tree. Among the stories carved on the stupa are that of Nanda and his beautiful wife, his conversion, and Mandhata's reign in heaven along with Sakka. There is an inscription at the base of the slab. For details see p. 298.

IV C, 10.—Fragment of slab representing stupa. The rail is all that is preserved but the coping is lost. There are the usual dwarfs carrying trays flanking the entrance and beside each is a man carrying lotuses. Facing the entrance is Buddha (his head is broken) seated, and opposite him are two devotees seated and adoring him.

IV C, 11 (Burgess 1, pl. xlii, fig. 3).—Fragment of slab with stupa representation showing part of the coping of the rail and drum. The coping shows men and animals (lions). Among the scenes carved on the drum are the Maradharshana, preaching of the law at the deer park suggested by deer, and cakravarti Mandhata with his precious jewels. A tall pillar within the rail is also to be seen. Of this slab Dr. Burgess says, " a fragment of the richly carved chaitya slab was recovered from the walls of a large well about a furlong to the west of the

stupa. Only sufficient is left to show how richly carved it must have been and to prove how little these beautiful sculptures are regarded by the modern Hindu " (Burgess 1, p. 77.)

IV C, 12 (Burgess 1, pl. xli, fig. 1).—Fragment of slab, cracked diagonally to the right, with representation of stupa. The flower garland on the rail coping issues from the mouths of makaras and is borne at intervals by dwarf yakshas. The inner side of the rail of which a little may be seen near the entrance shows an elephant issuing from an arched gateway and goring a man with its tusks as people watch from a maŋsion. This is probably the familiar scene from the story of Nalagiri. Facing the entrance a five-hooded snake is coiled up on a lotus. Just a little of the carving on the stupa may be seen, the rest of the slab being broken. There are the usual symbols of the great episodes in the Master's life.

IV C, 13 (Burgess 1, pl. xlii, fig. 2),—Fragment of slab representing stupa. The rail coping is decorated with men and animals (lions). Dwarfs carrying a tray flank the entrance and a monk is procuring flowers from a woman seated on either side of the entrance. Facing the gateway is seated Buddha adored by two women. Above are *āyaka* pillars and some weathered carvings on the drum of the stupa. One of the scenes seems to represent the worship of Buddha as a flaming pillar with the feet below on lotus, and another the cruel king fiercely handling his child whose story has been shown clearly on one of the uprights (above p. 211). Between stupa and the rail are two *lats*.

D. Cakra Pillars.

IV D, 1 (pl. lxiii, fig. 3; also Burgess 1, pl. xl, fig. 3).—Slab with cakra pillar. At the foot of the empty throne are two seated worshippers on either side and a similar number standing with fly-whisks in their hand. The shaft is composed of alternating cylindrical and bulbous parts supported at intervals by dwarfs, lions, and dwarfs again in threes. The cylindrical parts are ornamented with decorative patterns and the topmost bulbous part is fluted. On the abacus above it is the many spoked wheel above a pair of couchant lions. Except near the capital whence gallop animals with riders on either side there are deva couples (*mithuna*) in attitudes of adoration, appreciation and delectation all along the shaft three on either side. Similarly there are devas beyond the abacus and above the cakra on either side the latter carrying offerings as well. At the bottom of the entire piece is a frieze of animals.

IV D. 2 (Burgess 1, pl. xl, fig. 4).—Slab with cakra pillar the lower helf of which is broken. The pillar supporting the wheel is composed of bulbous *kalaśas* each supported by the foreparts of three lions. On either side of the pillar are devotees standing one below the other joining their hands in worship. Two couchant lions and a dwarf at either end support the wheel. Devas hover in the air above the wheel carrying offerings. Burgess says that a similar slab but complete, unlike this slab which is broken, was excavated by Sir Walter Elliot, and is now in the British Museum.

IV D, 3.—Fragment of wheel pillar showing only portion of the shaft which is composed of fluted bulbous parts held up by three dwarfs and lions at regular intervals. Riders on horses, lions and bulls one below the other are moving away from the shaft on either side. The fringe of the cakra (almost completely lost) is perceivable.

E. Friezes.

IV E, 1.—Small frieze with rail arranged between two borders, one of lotuses on top and the other of a troop of winged animals below.

IV E, 2 (Rea 2, pl, xlviii, fig. 1).—Slab showing ornamental rail pattern with three floral designs at regular intervals. The central floral pattern has the trisula on wheel superimposed on it. The border above is composed of lotuses and the one below of animals in flight. In the sunk band below there are rectangular holes, and lower down, the elevate strip has an inscription. For details see p. 298.

IV E, 3 (Burgess 1, pl. li, fig. 3).—Fragment of frieze showing rail pattern with lotus border on top and row of animals below. Towards the left the rail pillars make way for Buddha's feet and the wheel of law placed on a tray which in its turn rests on a stand and is adored by worshippers on either side. Beneath the frieze and on the surface of the slab is an inscription—inverted—in two letters for particulars of which see p. 299.

IV E, 4.—Fragment of frieze showing two worshippers (headless) seated beside a deer (also headless), one of a pair in the scene of the first sermon of Buddha. Below the carving there is a bust of a lion, one of a row of such busts.

IV E, 5.—Weathered fragment of a frieze of alternating Buddhas and stupas with just one of each intact. For details of inscription on the base see p. 299.

IV E, 6 (Burgess 1, pl. xliii).—Weatherworn frieze of alternating Buddhas and stupas. The lower part had an inscription which has almost disappeared; for details of what remains see p. 299.

IV E, 7 Fragment of narrow frieze showing three nimbate Buddhas under Bodhi tree attended by three men.

IV E, 8 (Burgess 1, pl. xliii, fig. 3).—Frieze with alternate haloed Buddhas and stupas. Under each of these there is an inscription. For details see p. 299.

IV E, 9.—Frieze with alternating nimbate Buddhas and stupas, four of each. Buddha is seated with hand raised in an attitude assuring protection. The stupa has a pair of triple umbrellas projecting sideways. There is an inscription beneath the carving. For details see p. 299.

IV E, 10 (Burgess 1, pl. xliii, fig. 6).—Frieze showing two Buddhas and three stupas arranged alternately. There is an inscription at the base. For details see p. 300.

IV E, 11 (Burgess 1, pl. xliii, fig. 7).—Frieze with alternating Buddhas and stupas, three of each.

IV E, 12 (Burgess 1, pl. xlii, fig. 8).—Frieze representing three Buddhas and four stupas alternately. For details of worn inscription below see p. 300.

IV E, 13 (Burgess 1. pl. xliii, fig. 11).—Frieze showing two Buddhas and two stupas alternately and a tree surrounded by railing towards the right end. There is an inscription at the base. For details see p. 300.

IV E, 14.—Frieze showing alternately two Buddhas and three stupas (the last one mostly broken and lost). There is an inscription at the base. For details see p. 300.

IV E, 15.—Fragment of frieze showing alternately seated Buddhas and chauri-bearers (three Buddhas and two attendants, most of them injured with inscription below. For details see p. 301.

IV E, 16.—Worn frieze of alternate Buddhas and stupas, three Buddhas and two stupas. For details of inscription at the bottom see p. 301.

F. Figures of Buddhas, Yakshis, etc.

IV F, 1.—Small slab showing seated Buddha with chauri-bearer on either side and two worshippers below.

IV F, 2 (Rea 2, pl. xlvii, fig. 7).—Small slab with figure of Buddha, reported as obtained from the south side of the west gate.

IV F, 3.—Figure of Buddha, standing, dressed in a long robe, flowing over the left shoulder like a Roman toga. The right hand is broken and the left holds the ends of the robe.

IV F, 4.—Defaced carving of nimbate standing Buddha in a niche with the trunk erased by mutilation. The lower part of this broken carving is figured in Burgess 1. pl. lii, fig. 4. Below the lotus under Buddha's feet is an inscription. For details see p. 301.

IV F, 5.—Image of seated Buddha with head and right hand broken. On the pedestal is an inscription, much damaged. For details of this see p. 301.

IV F, 6 (pl. lxiv, fig. 2; also Burgess 1, pl. lii, fig. 1).—Defaced large-sized figure of standing Buddha with hands and feet broken. His robe, the folds of which are well shown, goes over the left shoulder leaving the right bare. Small curls are shown on Buddha's head as also the cranial protuberance in the centre top. This statue of Buddha, when complete, says Dr. Burgess, must have measured 5 feet 5 inches. This is according to Dr. Burgess "much superior in sculpture to the later ones at Ajanta."

IV F, 7 (pl. lxiv, fig. 2; also Rea 2, pl. li, fig. 4).—Figure of Buddha with hands and feet broken and lost. This is smaller than the previous one but better preserved and clearer in details. The robe, its folds, its general arrangement on the body are all as in the previous

one. The curls and protuberance on the head are well shown. The nose, eyes, lips and other facial features are clearly chiselled (part of the nose and ears is injured): The *ūrṇā* on the forehead is clearly shown.

IV F, 8.—Feet of Buddha, broken from main figure, resting on lotus pedestal.

IV F, 9 (pl, lxi, fig, 2; also Burgess 1, pl. xlix, fig. 7).—Slab showing the figure of a lovely yakshi or dryad standing, as at Sanchi, under a tree and adorning herself with jewel within a kudu or caitya window arch. surmounted by a shovel-shaped projection with sirivaccha symbol on top of it.

IV F, 10.—Slab showing the figure of a yakshi—not so well executed as IV F, 9—standing under a tree within a caitya window arch.

IV F, 11.—Head of a prince or nobleman with rich headdress. According to Dr. Burgess several heads were found, occasionally those of Buddha but generally heads of chiefs of kings and their wives, four of which he has figured (1, pl. lii, figs. 5 and 7). This head is one of them, *i.e.*, fig, 7 (middle one).

G. Miscellaneous, Pillars, etc.

IV G, 1.—Fragment showing part of gateway arch and pillar and aureole of Buddha below.

IV G, 2.—Similar fragment with the addition of a dwarf on the pillar which is worn and lost in the previous one.

IV G, 3.—Small piece showing an unfinished figure and a man, hand and horse's head.

IV G, 4.—Tiny piece of border with lotus design.

IV G, 5 (pl. lxiv, fig. 4).—Slab with incised outline of seated figure and fainter outline of another seated figure opposite the former. Important as showing the method of carving.

IV G, 6.—Slab, broken on three sides and showing a lotus medallion in the centre separated from two half-lotuses by triple panels and wavy foliage. A rich ornamental vase (broken near the neck) is carved at the top.

IV G. 7.—Small cubical fragment with stupa carved in low relief on one side. The stupa is a plain one with rail pattern at the top of the drum; over the *harmikā* are three umbrellas. There are two knobs, one on either side of the *harmikā*, shaped like rosettes.

IV G. 8.—Fragment of octagonal pillar/with a bit of what could have been a more slender continuation of it above (the rest is lost). There is an inscription on the pillar. For details see p. 301.

IV G, 9 (Burgess 1, pl. xliv, fig. 2).—Lower fragment of huge pillar with greater breadth than thickness. The back is unhewn. On the front face is carved a stupa on lotus petals, with a narrow rail pattern below the dome, and crowned by a number of parasols all in a

cluster. A five-hooded naga is shown on the drum and on either side of him are upright bands shaped like rail pillars. Above this the corners of the pillar on this side are cut to form additional faces. Just where the pillar is broken is an inscription. For details see p. 302.

IV G, 10.—Lower fragment of rather crude rectangular pillar with half lotus carved in low relief on three sides. Above this where two of the corners are cut for additional faces the pillar is broken. For details of worn inscription see p. 302.

IV G, 11.—Small fragment of octagonal *āyaka* pillar with half-lotus on two sides which are uninjured. Above the half lotus, to the front on the central face of the *āyaka* octagon is a *pūrṇakalaśa* filled with lotuses.

IV G, 12.—Fragment with incomplete inscription. For details see p. 302.

IV G. 13.—Fragment showing half-worked figure on one side of a pillar with half-lotus (mutilated, since the slab is split) on one of the sides. There is an inscription beneath it in late letters of about the sixth century. For details see p. 303.

IV G, 14.—Huge mutilated square pillar octagonal in the centre wlth half-lotuses on all four sides at the top and bottom of the octagonal part. There are two lines of curiously incised inscription at the top and a badly worn inscription at the bottom. For details see p. 303.

IV G, 15.—Fragment of octagonal pillar broken in the middle with half-lotus on top of square base on all four sides and circular lotus medallions in the centre where it has only four sides. It is here broken. There is an inscription below the half-lotus for details of which see p. 303.

IV G, 16.—Similar but very small fragment of broken pillar.

IV G, 17.—Tiny fragment with inscription. For details see p. 303.

IV G, 18.—Broken and split octagonal pillar with inscription, For details see p. 303.

IV G, 19.—Slab showing seated image with right hand in *abhaya* or the attitude of removing fear. Other similar figures were found at Amaravati (Rea 2, pl, xlvii, fig. 6).

IV G, 20.—Fragment with seated image of a goddess on a lotus, holding a lotus in her hand. Only a portion of her head, left hand and leg are preserved. The slab is broken beyond this to the left, but to the right there are small figures of flying goddesses, one below another and opposite the topmost one is a small elephant; beside the one immediately below her is a snake; lower down in the third series is a dancing boy with hands clasped in adoration; in the last and fourth case a boy with hands over his head and an elephant are shown beside the celestial being.

INSCRIPTIONS.

INTRODUCTORY.

The inscriptions of Amaravati are of great interest to those desirous of knowing the influence of Buddhism in the Krishna valley two centuries before and three centuries after the beginning of the Christian era. They are mostly votive inscriptions whose "real historical value 'lies' in the light which the collection throws by palaeographic indications on the successive stages in the growth of this noble monument" (Chanda p. 261). Many householders, along with their wives, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, friends and relatives have donated now for a pillar, now for a cross-bar, an *ābatamala* casing slab. At the exhortation of many some have made their offerings but mostly these meritorious gifts are gifts of great devotees who hoped thus to please the Lord. Some pray for the long life of a dear one as the slab is presented and others nobler in spirit pray for the welfare of all creatures in the world. Sometimes a great banker or a merchant, sometimes the wife of a caravan leader, sometimes all the townsfolk make the donation. The length of the rail coping, the number of cross-bars given, the type of carved slab as for instance a slab with an overflowing vessel are all mentioned. Some of the incriptions record that the gift was set up at the base, or at the gates, of the Mahacetiya of the Lord but one records that its slab was for one of the smaller stupas near it (see below p. 298), thus confirming the conclusion already drawn independantly by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil that such were also beautified by the many devotees that visited Dhanakataka by slabs of the same height as those for the drum of the great stupa (see above p. 26). That a rail was constructed by Nagarjuna around the stupa is recorded by the 17th century historian Taranetha. It is interesting to note that an inscription from Amaravati confirms the renewal of this rail in the second century A.D., and gives the name of the venerable monk who supervised it (see below p. 290). Many an architecturally-minded monk was engaged in renovation work and Nagarjuna may well have employed Budharakhita to superintend the construction of the grand rail. From another Amaravati inscription, the label of a sculpture (I B 1), we learn of a new yaksha Candramukha worshipped in that ancient city.

The missionary spirit of the Buddhists is best evidenced by the types of people that have vied with one another in contributing their mite for the stupa repairs. Perfumers and leather workers did not lag behind the richest *vaniyas* and officers of the king such as generals and superintendents of water halls in their contributions (see above p. 7).

The names of the donors are very interesting and some of the clan names are equally so, especially the term Pakotaka which Mr. Chanda equates with Vakataka, a term which also occurs. This enables us, as Mr. Chanda points out, to trace the Vakatakas in the Deccan as far back as the second century B.C.

The inscriptions mention monks (*bhadata*), elders (*thera*), mendicants (*peṇḍapātika*), worthy men (*aya*), lay worshippers male and female (*uvāsāka* and *uvāsikā*), disciples male

and female (*atevāsika* and *atevāsikinī*), preachers of the law (*dhamakathika*), supervisors of renovation works (*navakamaka*), householders (*gahapati*), housewives (*gharani*), generals (*senagopa*), perfumers (*gadhika*), leather workers (*camakara*), whole towns (*negama*), and many others as the donors. Schools of Buddhism are also mentioned. Cetikiyas, Rajagirikas, Siddhathakas, Pubbaseliyas and Avaraseliyas are named.

The names by which the various slabs were distinguished are also learnt from the inscriptions. *Udhapaṭa* or upright, *sūci* or cross-bar, *unisa* or coping, *kabho* or pillar, *cakapaṭo* or slab with medallion, *soṭhikapaṭa* or slab with auspicious sign, *abatamala*—a similar slab, *punnakalasapata* or a slab bearing an overflowing vessel, *ayaka khabho* or pillar worthy of reverence, *peṇḍaka* or slab, and so forth, are among the many expressions used.

The scripts are of four types as pointed out by Mr. Chanda. The first is the early type of about 200 B.C., which is associated with the sculptures of the first period. This resembles the Asokan script. The second is of the first century B.C., or A.D. In its earliest form, with which no important sculptures seem to be contemporary, the letters are still near the earlier type but they gradually get longer and in the second sculptural period of about 100 A.D. the curves of *a*, *k* and *r* appear. Throughout this second period there is a small serif or thickening of the upper end of the verticals of letters. The third variety is the commonest and is found in all the rail inscriptions. The fourth is the ornamental type resembling the Jaggayyapeta script.

The language of the Amaravati inscriptions has been described by Mr. Chanda as a Prakrt with close affinity to the Paisaci form and he has given forms of words occurring in the inscriptions to prove it. The Brhatkatha of Gunadhya was in Paisaci and the poet lived at the Satavahana court. It is remarkable that the inscriptions should be in the language in which the Brhatkatha was written. It supports, as Mr. Chanda points out, the Kashmirian, tradition that Gunadhya composed his poem in Paisaci in the court of the Satavahana and that Paisaci was cultivated in the Andhra kingdom.

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

No. 1 (I A, 1).

Burgess 1, p. 86, pl. xliv 4; Ramachandran T. N. 1, p. 137. 139; Kempers, p. 367.

TEXT: *Naranjarā*

. . . . *gamanam*

TRANSL.: Neranjarā river

(the great) departure.

NOTES.—Burgess does not mention the inscription. Coomaraswamy points out the inscription, estampages of which were supplied him by the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. Ramachandran has discussed the value of the names suggesting the Bharhut parallel and connecting early Amaravati sculptural tradition with that of Bharhut (see above p. 154). Barnet Kempers gives (*abhini*) *Khamana* as suggested to him by Vogel.

No. 2 (I A, 4).

Chanda 1, No. 43, 37 and 38, p. 270-271.

TEXT: *Cūlamākuyā / tapaya / ukati danā*

tasa dānaṁ

TRANSL.: Of Culamakā (Kshullamṛgā);/Of Tapā (Trapā);/Gift of ukaṭi. Gift of . . . . tasa

NOTES: *Ukati* is given in bold letters by Chanda but the word has not been translated by him. It is probably a term signifying some slab composing the structure which is clear. But it is not a proper name, as in the case of the previous names the genitive case suffix is added and should be expected here also, but is absent.

No. 3 (I B, 1). See pl. lxv, 9.

Chanda 1, No. 36, p. 269-270.

TEXT: *Yakho Cadamukho vakunivāsi*

TRANSL.: Yaksha Cadamukha (Candramukha) residing in vaku (vakula ?).

NOTES.—Chanda reads *Yagochada Mugovaku-niv-āsi* and corrects *yago* into *yāgo* to mean sacrifice and takes *Yagochada* (*Yāgachandra*) as the name of the person inhabiting *Mugovaka*. But it is obviously a yaksha *Candramukha* (see above p. 82 for discussion).

No. 4 (I B, 2).

Burgess 2, p. 8; Hultzsch 4, p. 550, No. 3; Burgess 1. p. 67, pl. xxviii 6 and lxi No. 52; Franke, p. 600, 601; Luder's list No. 1231, p. 145.

TEXT: (?*hu*) *tukāya sanatukāya unisa dānam.*

TRANSL.: Gift of a coping stone by . . . . (with her daughters and grandsons.)

NOTES.—There is a svastika at the end.

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No. 5 (I B, 4).

Burgess I, p. 67, pl xxxi 3 ; Luders' list No. 1289, p. 154.

TEXT : *(ma)hātherasa Mahādhaṁmakadhikasa* . , .

TRANSL. : . . . . . of the great elder (thera) Mahādhaṁmakadhika (Mahādharmakadhika). . .

NOTES.—Burgess reads *Mahādhammakasa* and Luders agrees with him. But the reading after *Mahādhammaka* is *dhikasa* and not *sa ka*.

No. 6 (I B, 10).

Chanda 1, No. 39, p. 270.

TEXT : *Gotaminamo* . . . . *dānam*

TRANSL. : Gift . . . of Gotami.

NOTES.—Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan believes the statue, on the dress of which this is incised, to represent Gautamiputra Satakarni on the basis of this inscription (see his "South Indian Portraits", p. 1). But the inscription does not warrant the assumption.

No. 7 (I B. 16).

Burgess 2, p. 43 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 557, No. 31 ; Burgess & Hultzsch, 1, p, 94, pl. liv 2 and lvi No. 5 ; Luders' list No. 1261, p. 151.

TEXT : *Sidham uvāsikaya Sivalāya saputikaya saduhutukāya deya dha(ma)*

TRANSL. : Success ! Pious gift of the female lay worshipper (uvāsikā) Sivalā (Sivalā) with her sons and daughters.

No. 8 (I D, 5).

Burgess 2, p. 2I ; Burgess 1, p. 98, pl. xliii 14 ; Luders' list No. 1308 p. 155.

TEXT : *Sidham* . . . *hadiga* . . . *yaghar(i)*.

This is as Burgess and Hultzsch point out ' nearly all illegible and part broken away.

No. 9 (I E, 4).

TEXT : 1 *(sa) Budhi*

2 vi sa

Fragmentary.

No. 10 (I E, 5).

Chanda 1, No. 31, p. 268.

TEXT. : *vāsakasa dhamakadhika*. . .

TRANSL. : . . . of (Budhi) preacher of the law, residing at . . .

NOTES.—Since Chanda published the inscription the last three letters are lost and thus he name *Budhi* is missing in the inscription.

No. 11. (I E, 13).

Chanda 1, No. 40, p. 270.

Text : 1 (*sa*) *Cadasa mātuyā-* .

2 *nam navakamikāpadhānapari*. . .

3 *ṇo dhamakadhiko aya Pārapo***ta***ca*.

Transl. : . . . Of Chada (Candra) and of his mother . . . the chief supervisor of the renovation work . . . and the preacher of the law, the worthy (aya) Parapota.

Notes.—There is the letter '*ta*' omitted by mistake and added by the stone cutter beside '*po*'. Beyond it is a symbol mostly lost. Chanda reads all the '*p*'s in the inscription as '*ḍ*' but feels that the reading with '*ḍa*' sounds strange. Chanda gives an alternative reading Krishna Sastri's suggestion of '*pa*' for '*da*'. But his reading *Dāraḍo* must also be corrected into *Pārapota*.

No. 12 (I F, 3).

Chanda 1, No. 5, 263.

Text : *Dhaṁñakaḍakasa nigamasa*.

Transl. : (Gift) of the town of Dhaṁñakaḍa (Dhānyakaṭaka).

No. 13 (I F, 4).

Chanda 1, No. 6, p. 263.

Text. *Malamāvuka* . . . *yā Retiyā thabho*

Transl. : Pillar, (gift) of Retī . . . of Malamāvuka.

Notes.—Chanda suggests 'an inhabitant of' 'or' 'wife of' as the word suggested by the lost letters.

No. 14 (I F, 5).

Chanda 1, No. 7, p. 263.

Text : (*tha*) *bakakulasa thabho*.

Transl. : Pillar, (gift) of . . . (tha)baka family.

No. 15 (I F, 6).

Chanda 1, No. 9, p. 264.

Text : *Kamma* . . . *yā Apakuyā thabho*

Transl. : Pillar, (gift) of Apaku . . . Kamma

Notes.—Thomas suggests the two missing letters *bhayā* (*bhāryā*).

No. 16 (I F, 7).

Chanda 1, No. 15, p. 265.

Text : . . . *gamasa*.

Transl. : Of the town (nigama). . .

Notes.—Chanda supplies the first letter *ni* and suggests that this may be of Dhanyakataka as the epigraph appears to have been traced by the same hand as inscribed another such (Chanda 1, No. 4).

No. 17 (I F, 8).

Chanda 1, No. 14, p. 265.

TEXT : . . . *gasa putānam.*

TRANSL. : Of the sons of . . . ga.

No. 18 (I F, 9).

Burgess 2, p. 42 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 554, No. 18, Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 101, pl. lvi, No. 4 ; Frank, p. 599 ; Luders' list No. 1266, p. 150.

TEXT : *Senagopasa Mudukutalasa thabho*

TRANSL. : The pillar of the general (senagopa) Mudukutala (Mṛdukuntala).

No. 19 (I F, 10).

Chanda 1, No. 3, p. 262.

TEXT : 1 . . . *sa Likhitasa thabho bhi (khu) no Pāṭalipu*
2 *tāto*

TRANSL. : . . . Pillar, (gift) of Likhita a monk from Pātaliputa (Pātaliputa).

NOTES.—Thomas has read *bhikhuno Pātaliputāto* and thus made the inscription clear.

No. 20 (I G, 3).

Chanda 1, No. 13, p. 264.

TEXT : *Utāyā (Dha)namalamātu suci.*

TRANSL. : Cross-bar (gift) of Utā the mother of (Dha)namala.

No. 21 (I G, 4).

Chanda 1, No. 10, p. 266.

TEXT : *(Ha)relapu(tasa) suci.*

TRANSL. : Cross-bar (gift) of the son of (Ha)rela.

No. 22 (I G, 5).

Chanda 1, No. 10, p. 264.

TEXT : *Revatasa paḍipuḍi(niyā)naṁ.*

TRANSL. : Of Revata of the Paḍipuḍiya community.

No. 23 (I G, 6).

Chanda 1, No. 16, p. 265.

TEXT : *Utikasa mātu Kuṁbāyā sūci.*

TRANSL. : Cross-bār, (gift) of Kumbā the mother of Utika . . .

NOTES.—There is a symbol of a triratna on wheel crowned by a parasol.

No. 24 (I G, 7).

Chanda 1, No. 8, p. 263.

TEXT : *Pākoṭakā* . . .

TRANSL. : (The gift of) the Pākoṭakas.

NOTES.—Chanda suggests that *Pākoṭakas* may be *Vākāṭakas* on the strength that another inscription (Chanda's No. 27) where a *Vākāṭaka* is mentioned.

No. 25 (I. G., 8).

Chanda 1, No. 17, p. 265.

TEXT : . . . *sa mātu Kumbāyā sūci*

TRANSL : Cross-bar (gift) of Kumbā the mother of . . . .

NOTES.—As Chanda suggests this *Kumbā* is the same as the donor of a previous one (Chanda No. 16). The symbol here is a modification of Sirivaccha crowned by a parasol.

No, 26 (I G, 9).

Chanda 1, No. 12, p. 264.

TEXT : 1 *Rājalekhakasa Bala*

2 *sa jāyāya Somadatā*

TRANSL. : Of Somadatā (Somadattā) the wife of the royal scribe Bala.

No. 27 (I G, 10).

Chanda 1, No. 20, p. 266.

TEXT : . . . *gasa sūci*

TRANSL : Cross-bar (gift) of . . . ga

No. 28 (I G, 11).

TEXT : *chagha*

Only two letters.

No. 29 (I G, 12).

Chanda 1, No. 18, p. 265.

TEXT : . . . *tini suciyo*

TRANSL : Three cross-bars . . .

No. 30 (I G. 13).

Chanda 1, No. 11, p. 264.

TEXT : *Sāghalasamanasa a* . . .

TRANSL. : . . . Of the monk Sāghala.

NOTES.—Chanda reads *Sa(ṁ)ghala.*

No. 31 (II A, 2).

Burgess 2, p. 54 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 557, No. 30 ; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 90, pl. xlvi 2 and lx No. 50 ; Franke, p. 600.

TEXT : 1 *Sidham Jetaparavanavaṭhavaya pavajitikaya Sagharakhitāya bālikaya ja*

2 *pavajitikāya Haghaya kumarikāya ja Yavaya dāna deyadhama ūpato.*

TRANSL: Meritorious gift of upright slab (ūpata) by the nun (pavajitikā) Sagharakhitā (Samgharakshitā) living in Jetaparavana, her daughter the nun Hamghā and by her (latter's) daughter Yavā.

NOTES.—Burgess and Hultzsch read *Kutaparavana* and suggest *Deva* and *Jeta* as variants. Luders accepts *Deva*. *Jeta* is equally probable and more likely as it is more familiar and the tendency is to use familiar names. Luders accepts the reading *Jiva* of the name of the last donor. The reading of Hultzsch and Burgess is *Seva*. But the letter *Se* appears *Ya* and it may be read *Yava*.

No. 32 (II A. 8).

Chanda 1. No. 25, p. 267.

TEXT: 1 . . . *nili Gamilakasa gahapatisa*

2 . . . *putasa ja Revatasa ja bal(i)kāya*

TRANSL.; . . . of Gamilaka the householder . . . the son of . . . and of the daughter of Revata.

NOTES.—The two '*j*'s that come between *putasa* and *Revatasa* suggest a plurality of donors.

No. 33 (II A, 9).

Chanda 1, No. 55, p. 274.

TEXT: 1 (*Si*) *dham Pākag* (*i*)*ri nevasakasa Mahā*(*n*)*avakamakasa* . . . *Budharakhitasa* . . . (*u*)*vasikasa Go*(*ti*)*ya*(*sa*) *aya Re*(*ti*) . . .

2 *Haghasa Sihagiri* (*na*)*vakamakasa Dhamarakhitasa* . . . *ranakasa Katanakasa Nagapavatā*

3 *mahā*(*na*)*vakamakasa ayira ā*(*dita*)*sa* . . . *Vesaraparalavathavaya Cetikaya Makaya matuya Nakhaya Budhaya ca Cadaya ca*

4 *gu*(*la*?) (*la*?) *ga* . . . *gha*

(As the slab is built close to the floor it has not been possible to get the last line properly in the estampage. The last line is however clear in Chanda's reproduction.)

TRANSL.; (this upright slab is) of Budharakhita (Buddharakshita), the great supervisor of renovation (Māhanavakamaka), residing at Pākagiri, of the lay worshipper (uvasaka) Gotiya, of the worthy (aya) Reti, of Hamgha (Samgha), of Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakshita), the supervisor of renovation work at Sihagiri (Simhagiri), of . . . ranaka, of Kaṭanaka, of the worthy (ayira) Adita (Āditya), the great supervisor of renovation work at Nagapavata (Nāgaparvata), of Nakhā the mother of Makā (Mṛgā), a follower of the Cetika school residing at Vesaraparala, of Budha (Buddhā), Cada (Candrā).

NOTES.—Chanda and Thomas have given different readings. Chanda reads *Pākagiri* as *Bakagiri*. Thomas reads *Budharakhita* in l. i as *Budhasāviyāya*, (*u*)*vasikasa* as (*ne*)*v*(*ā*)*sikasa*, and *Go*(*ti*)*ya* (*sa*) as *Gomayisa* which last Chanda reads (*Go*).*ya*(*na*). In l. 2 Thomas

reads *(Sū ?)nuturav(i)h(ā)rāsa* but the letters are not clear. Immediately after this he reads *kaṭanikasa* and suggests that it is probably *kuṭumbisa*. In l. 3 Thomas reads *ayā(yi ?)ra Bhupasa* which appears *ayira A(dita)sa*. The next is read by him *dheuraparalava* . . . which appears *Vesaraparalavaṭhavasa Cetikasa*. *Haraya* and *Nachaya* appear *Makaya* and *Nakhaya*. The last line has not come well in my estampage since the slab is too near the floor to allow a good impression. The line is come off as clearly well as the rest in Chanda's reproduction.

No. 34 (II A, 10).

Burgess 2, p. 55 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 557, No. 33, 5, p. 344, No. 33 ; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 91, pl. xlvii 3 and lviii, No. 35 ; Lūders ' list No. 1272, p. 151.

TEXT : 1 *Sidham Saṁyutakabhanakānam Pusakavanavasika mahāth(e rānaṃ Parivinutānaṁ caranagata at(e)v(ā)sikasa*

2 *peṁdapātikasa Mahāvanāselavathavasa Pasamasa Hamghasa ca deyadhaṁma ima udha paṭo*

TRANSL : Success ! This upright slab is the pious gift of Pesama the mendicant monk (peṁḍapātika), residing at Mahāvanasela, the pupil at the feet of the great elder (mahāthera) Parivinuta living at Pusakavana, and scholar in Samyutaka bhāṇa (i.e. Samyukta Nikaya), and of Hamgha.

NOTES.—Burgess and Hultszch read the name of the elder as *Paravanuta* and Luders has accepted it. It however appears to be *Parivinūta*. The reading of Hultzsch and Burgess *Samyutakabhātukānam* has been corrected by Nalinaksha Datta into *Samyutakabhānaka* (see Ind. Hist. Quart. vol. vii, p. 640). Similarly he corrects *Makāvanasāla* of Burgess & Hultzsch into *mahāvanasela* (Ind. Hist. Quart. vol. vii, p. 641).

No. 35 (II A, 11). See pl. lxv, 12.

Burgess 1, p. 92, pl. xlviii 1 ; Lūders' list No. 1294, p. 154.

TEXT : 1 *nilikam Amsutalikasa Hamghasa gharaniya ca Sagharakhitaya bālikāya Pugarāṭhāya Haghaya ca deya*

2 *dhama budhabamālāya ? taya ? patiṭhapita*

TRANSL : Success . . . A pious gift of a budhabamālā (should be abadhamālā) is erected, with jñātis, friends and relatives by . . . the wife of Hamghā (Samghā) of Amsutalika (Amśutalika), and Hamghā (Samghā) of Pugaraṭha (Pūgarāshṭra), the daughter of Sagharakhitā (Samgharakshitā).

No. 36 (II A, 12).

Burgess 2, p. 54 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 577, No. 32 ; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 90, pl. xlvi 1 and lxi, No. 53 ; Franke, p. 601 ; Lūders' list No. 1271, p. 151.

TEXT: 1 *Sidham namo bhagapato logāticasa Dhanakatakāsa upāsakasa*

2 *Gotiputasa Budharakhitasa gharaniya ca Padumāya pusa ca Hamghasa Budhi*

3 *(bodhi . . . Budharakhitasa savaka . . . udhapaṭā) sa*

TRANSL.: Success! Adoration to the Lord; the illuminator (lit. Sun) of the world! (Upright slab, gift) of the lay worshipper (upāsaka) Budharakhita, of Dhanakataka, the son of Goti, and of his wife Padumā (Padmā) and of their son Hamgha (the . . .)

(The last line of the inscription has not come properly in my estampage as the slab is too near the floor. It is however clear in Burgess' reproduction.)

NOTES.—Franke reads *Logāticasa* of Hultzsch and Burgess as *logāticisa*. But the line above 'c' is not part of the letter but runs straight down the slab below the letter.

No. 37 (II A. 13).

Burgess 1, p. 106, pl. lxi, No. 54; Lüders' list No. 1303, p. 155.

TEXT: 1 *Sidham Katakaselakasa upāsakasa Utarasa samat(u)*

2 *sa sabhaginikasa sabhat(u)kasa sadhutukasa.*

TRANSL.: Success! (Gift) of the lay worshipper (upasaka) Utara of Kantakasela with his mother, sisters, brothers and daughters.

NOTES.—Burgess reads *Katakakola* and Luders has accepted the reading. The letter appears like '*so*' as the edges of the head and arm of the letter are almost joined by the wear of time. This is the same as the *Kamtakasela* (*Kantakaśaila*) occurring in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions (see *Ep. Ind.* xx, p. 22).

No. 38 (II A. 14).

TEXT: 1: . . . *Cuvika(sa) (Na) (ka) (sa) . . . (the) (ra) sam ci (ma) mu (gha) ga . . .*

2 *Kici (dha) . . . Kamāya . . . yasaram(i) . . .*

TRANSL.: Fragmentary. The names of Cuvika, Naka and Kama are mentioned; also a thera.

No. 39 (II A. 15).

Chanda 1, No. 57, p. 275.

TEXT: 1 *Sidham namo bhagavato Sirinegicasa Pusakalikasa Hamghasa bhariyaya ca Cātiyaputānam ca*

2 *Mahacamdamukhasa Culacandamukhasa bāilikāya ca Utariyasa na . . ya Cula Hamghaya Dighas(i)ri*

3 . . . *Balasa . . . patiṭhapita udhapaṭa.*

TRANSL.: Success! Adoration to the Lord! (This) upright (slab udhapata) erected here (is the pious gift) of Pusakalika of Sirinagica, of the wife of Hagha (Samgha), of Mahācandamukha and Culacandamukha, the sons of Catiya and his daughter . . . of Uttariya, Cula Hamghā and Dighasiri . . . . Bāla.

NOTES.—Some of the letters in the second and third lines are lost since Chanda pnblished the inscription, *Nutu ca Haghaya* is lost in l. 2 and *deya dhammam* in l. 3. Chanda's

reading *Utariyasa ca nuṭhu ca Haghaya Bhalaha* is corrected by Thomas who reads *Utariyasa nuṭhu cha Haghāya Chula-Haghāya*. *Pusa* is explained by Chanda as *putasa* and *Kalika* is taken as a name. It is probable that *Pusakalika* is a name. The reading of Chanda at the end of the second line is *viya sa(si)* ; but it appears *Dighas(i)ri*.

No. 40 (II C, 1).

Burgess 2, p. 20; Hultzsch 4, p. 554, No. 21: Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 104, pl. lix, No. 41; Lüders' list No. 1243, p. 147.

TEXT: 1 *DamilaKanhasa bhātunam ca CulaKanhasa Nakhaya ca Dhanamahace*

2 *tiyapādamūle udhaṁpaṭo*

TRANSL: An upright slab at the foot of the great caitya of Dhana, gift of Damila Kanha (*i.e.*, Kanha, Krshna from Tamil country, Damila), his brother Cula Kanha (Kshulla Kṛshṇa) and his sister Nakhā.

NOTES.—*Dhana* is probably the contracted form of *Dhanakata*.

No. 41 (II C, 3).

Burgess 2, p. 46; Hultzsch 4, p. 558, No. 34; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 91, pl. xlvii 2 and lviii, No. 36; Franke, p. 600, Lüders' list No. 1273, pp. 151-152.

TEXT: 1 *Sidham camakarasa Nāgaupajhayaputasa Vidhikasa samatukasa sabhayakasa sabhātukasa putasa ca Nagasa sama* dhu* tukasa sanatimitabaṁdhavasa deyadhaṁma*

2 *punaghaṭakapaṭo*

TRANSL: Success; Meritorious gift of a slab with an overflowing vase (punaghatakapato) by the leather-worker (camakara) Vidhika, the son of the teacher Naga, with his mother, his wife, his brothers, his son Naga, his daughters and with his *jnātis* (paternal cousins in the male line entitled to property, friends and relations.

NOTES.—Burgess and Hultzsch point out that '*dhu*' in '*samadhutukasa*' is omitted and added below the line. Franke correc's the reading of Hultzsch and Burgess *Nāgagharu* (*tapa*) *putasa* into *Nāgaghariyaputasa* and Lüders has finally corrected it into *Nāga upajhaya putasa* as it ought to be.

No. 42 (II C, 5).

Hultzsch 5, p. 346, No. 52; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 102, pl. lvii, No. 20; Franke, p. 600; Luders' list No. 1249, p. 148.

TEXT: 1 . . . *bhayigena sabhaginikena*

2 *(a)badamala kāritā savasica*

TRANSL: An abadamala slab was prepared by . . . with his wife and sisters . .

NOTES.—Burgess points to another inscription with the word '*abatamālā*' (Luders' list No. 1287).

No. 43 (II C, 6). See pl. lxv, 13.

TEXT : *Nilakasa uti* . . ,

TRANSL. : Of Nilaka . . .

No. 44 (II C, 9).

Chanda 1, No. 21, p. 266.

TEXT : 1 *Sidham namo bhagavato Sidha* . . .

2 *sanātimitabadhava* (*na*) . . .

TRANSL. : Success ! Adoration to the Lord Sidha(tha) , . . (gift of . . .) along with his jñātis, friends and relatives.

NOTES.—Chanda takes *Sidha* to be the beginning of the name of the donor. But as *Sidhatha* occurs just after *bhagavato* and salutation to *Siddhatha* has occurred in other places this may also be taken to refer to *Sidhatha*.

No. 45 (II C, 10).

Chanda 1, No. 48, p. 272.

TEXT : 1 . . . *lure vathavasa Pegagaha*(*pa*) . . .

2 . . (*sa*) *bhatukasa sabhaginikasa sabhaya* . . .

3 . . *katamahācetiye kalasa* . . . *patiṭhāpi*(*to*)

TRANSL. : This (slab with) vase (kalasa . . .) is erected at the great caitya of (Dhana) kata by Pega the householder, residing at . . . lura, along with his brothers, sisters and wife.

NOTES.—Chanda reads the last line *mahācheta-yeka-pas*(*e*) meaning on one side of the great caitya. But *mahācetiye kalaasa* . . . is clear and the slab itself is a kalasa slab with a representation of a vase.

No. 46 (II C, 11).

Chanda 1, No. 47, p. 272.

TEXT : 1 . . . *sa bhariyāya Caka* . . *ya sapitukāya* . . .

2 . . . (*sa*) *nātimitabadhavehi deya dhama*

3 . . . *patiṭhapita soṭhikāpatā abātamālā ca*

TRANSL. : (This) slab with svastika or auspicious slab and abātamālā is erected as meritorious gift by Caka . . . wife of . . ., with her father, . . . jñātis, friends and relatives.

NOTES.—Chanda reads *Chakadatāya*. For *soṭhikapaṭa* and *abātamālā* see Luders' list No. 1287. Hultzsch considers that *soṭhikapaṭā* is *śresṭhikapaṭṭa* (see Hultzsch 5, p. 345). The word may also be read as sobikāpaṭā in which case it would mean a decorative slab.

No. 47 (II C, 12).

Burgess 1, p. 103, pl. lviii, No. 33 ; Lüders' list No. 1301, p. 155.

TEXT : . . . *lasa samātukasa sap*(*i*)*tukasa sabhaginikasa sabhāriyasa saputakasa sakū* . . . *dā*(*nam*)

TRANSL. : Gift of . . . along with his mother, father, sisters, wife and sons

No. 48 (II C, 13).

Chanda 1, No. 22, p. 266.

TEXT : 1 *rasa sapitu(ka)sa sabhayakasa sabhātuka*

2 . . *dāna bhagavato Budhapamātu paṭa*

TRANSL.: Gift of a slab (?) of Lord Buddha . . . . by . . . . with his father, wife, and brothers.

NOTES.—Chanda reads *Budha pamātu paṭa* and translates 'a slab (bearing an image) of the omniscient Buddha'. He says as he could not trace the slab with this inscription in the cellar of the Museum he cannot say whether it bears an image of the Buddha. The slab is a broken one showing only the legs of some women with heavy anklets. The rest is lost.

No. 49 (II E, 4). See pl. lxv, 7.

Burgess 2, pl. 16, No. 34 bis; Burgess 1, pp. 82-83, pl. xlii.

TEXT: 1 . . *tinividapiya* . . . . . .

2 . . *gila mātuyā Laciya dā(na)*

TRANSL.: gift of Laci (Lakshmi) the mother of . . .

No. 50 (II E, 5).

Burgess 2, p. 6; Hultzsch 4, p. 550, No. 4; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 86, pl. xlv 1 and lx, No. 47; Franke, p. 600; Lüders' list No. 1229, p. 144.

TEXT.: 1 *Sidham vāniyasa Kuṭasa sa*

2 *bheriyasa saputakasa saduhu*

3 *tukasa sanatukasa dakhināyā*

4 *ke cetiyakhabho sadhāduko dānaṁ*

TRANSL: Success; Gift of a caitya pillar (cetiyakhabho) with a relic (dhātu), at the southern gate (āyaka), by the merchant Kuta with his wife, sons, daughters and grandsons.

NOTES.—The first letter of the second line '*bhe*' should be corrected as '*bha*' as pointed out by Franke. The reading of Burgess and Hultzsch '*ka*' of the first letter in line 4 should be corrected into '*ke*' as Franke points out.

No. 51 (II E, 6 & 7).

Burgess 2, p. 26, No 121 with Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji's transcript in Sanskrit and English translation; Hultzsch 4, p. 549, No. 1; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 100, pl. lvi, No. 1; Lüders' list No, 1248, p. 147.

TEXT.: 1 (*Si*)*dham rāñ*(*o*) *Vā* (*si*)*th*(*ī*)*puta*(*sa*) *m*(*i*) *Siri Pulumāvisa savachara* . . . . . *Piṇḍasutariyānam Kahutara gahapatisa Purigahapatisa ca putasa Isilisa sabhātukasa*

2 *saginikasa bhayāya ca sa Nākānikāya saputaka* (*sa*) . . . (*to*) *mahācetiye Cetikiyānam nikāsa parigahe aparadāre dhamacakaṁ dedhaṁ*(*mam*) (*th*)*āpita*

TRANSL.: Success! In the year . . . of the king, the lord Sri Pulumāvi, the son of Vāsiṭhi (princess of the Vāsishṭha family), a pious gift (dedhama) of a wheel of law (dhamacakam) at the Western gate (aparadāra), the property (parigaha) of the Caityaka school (Cetikiyānam nikasa—to be read nikāyasa), was erected by the householder (gahapati) Kahutara and Isila (Ṛshila), the son of the householder Puri (both) of the Pindasutariya family, the latter along with his brothers, sisters and wife (Nāganikā) and sons.

NOTES.—(*sama*) to restore *samatukasa* pointed out by Burgess is not seen in the inscription. *Bha* is omitted in *saginikasa* which should be *sabhaginikasa* as Burgess shows. *Bhagavato* is lost before *mahācetiya* and is restored by Burgess, Bhagvanlal Indraji & Hultzsch. *Ya* is omitted in *nikāsa* which should be *nikāyasa* which Burgess, Bhagvanlal, Indraji & Hultzsch point out.

No. 52 (II E, 22).

Chanda 1, No. 24, p. 267.

TEXT: . . . (*ha*) *patino saputakasa dāna divaḍho hatho*

TRANSL.: Gift of the householder . . . . . with his sons, a cubit and half.

NOTES.—Chanda explains *divadho* by giving equivalents *divaḍḍo* (Pali) *divaddha* (Ardha Magadhi), modern *ded* (Bengali) or *dedh* (Hindi). At the end of the inscription is a svastika symbol with the arms curved.

No. 53 (II E, 23).

Chanda 1, No. 23. p. 207.

TEXT; *uvāsikaya Utarāya uvā*(*sa*)

TRANSL.. Of the female lay worshipper (uvāsikā) Utarā (Uttarā). the lay worshipper . .

NOTES.—At the beginning of the inscription is a symbol of a wheel. on pīṭha.

No. 54 (II E, 24).

Burgess 2, p. 43; Burgess 1, pl. lvii, No. 24 (plate only); Lüders' list No. 1269, p. 151; Chanda 1, No. 46, pp. 271-272.

TEXT: (*dha*) *ṇajanāya sanātimitabadhavāya dānam vetikāya cha hatho*

TRANSL: Six cubits for the rail enclosure, gift of . . . Dhanajanā with her jñatis, friends and relatives.

NOTES.—*Ñati* which often occurs along with *mita* and *badhava* cannot here mean grandson (natuka) as Chanda reads and translates.

No. 55 (II E. 25).

Burgess 2, p. 35; Hultzsch 4, p. 556, No. 27; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 104, pl. lx, No. 44; Lüders' list No. 1255, p. 149.

TEXT: 1 (*Si dham Sulasa gahapatiputena* (*ga*) . . .

2 *Nāgatāya bālakena ya Sulasena sadhutu* . . .

3 *khinapase dāra kārita deyadha*(*ma*)

TRANSL. : Success ! Meritorious gift made at the gate at the southern side by the householder (gahapati) . . . son of the householder Sulasa, . , (with) Nāgatā, and his son Sulasa, and his daughter . . .

NOTES. – Here '*ya*' after *bālakena* in l. 2 should be taken to mean '*ca*'.

No. 56 (II E, 26).

Chanda 1, No; 45, p. 271.

TEXT : *Tumāya Saputikāya sada* . . .

TRANSL. : (Gift) of . . . Tumā with her daughters, with . . ,

No. 57 (II E, 27).

Burgess 2, p. 23, No. 46 b and p. 53, pl, iv, No. 12 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 552, No. 11 ; Burgess 1, p. 68 (in Nagari).

TEXT. : 1 *āśrūtah śrīmahā vimbam*

2 *vikārah pa(gha)vāri paṇḍu*

3 *kuśalakārih Srivyārā*

4 *vaibhavam da(?)*

NOTES.—This is unintelligible Sanskrit in Nagari script of about the eleventh century. Quoting Dr. Hultzsch, Dr. Burgess says that "its purport seems to be that a vaisya, who receives sundry laudatory epithets, makes his obeisance to Buddha" (Burgess 2, p, 53). But there appears no word '*vaisya.*' The first line however may mean 'a carved figure was promised by the blessed . . .'

No. 58 (II E. 28).

Chanda 1, No. 4, 262.

TEXT : *Dhañakaṭakasa niga masa*

TRANSL. : (The gift) of the city (nigama) of Dhañakaṭaka.

No. 59 (II E, 29).

Burgess 2. p. 50 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 558, No. 36 ; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 106, pl. lxi, No. 51 ; Lüders' list No. 1277, p. 152.

TEXT : 1 *gahapatino Vāsumitasa putasa Himalasa sabhāriyasa*

2 *saputakasa sabhaginiyasa saduhutukasa thabhā dāna*

TRANSL. : Gift of pillar by Himala, the sun of the householder Vāsumita (Vasumitra), with his wife, sons, sisters and daughters.

No. 60 (II E, 29).

Burgess 2, p. 49 ; Hultzsch 3, pp. 25–28 ; Hultzsch 6, pp. 43–44 with plate.

The long inscription is in later characters of about 1100 A.D. (Hultzsch 6, p. 44) in Sanskrit reading from bottom to top.

TEXT :

1 *Śriyam varām vaściramādiśantu te Bhavadvishah Sri*

2 *ghanapādapāmsavah surāsurādhīśaśikhāmaṇi*

3 *tvishā manāntarayye vilasanti sa mcaye || babhūva dhī*
4 *tuh prathamādakalmasho munir Bharadvāja iti śru*
5 *tīśvarah tatOngirā nāma girapagodadhistata-*
6 *sSudhā meti munirvini śrutah || tatassa mastā*
7 *gamapāradrśvā Droṇābhidhāno munir ugravīrya(h)*
8 *atarpayansoshṭalanum tapobhirvamśasya kartusta*
9 *nayasya hetoh || prasādena tataśśambhor Aśvāttthā-*
10 *meti viśrutah prādurbabhūva tejasvī prātarbbhā*
11 *nurivodayāt || tapasyatastasya kilāpsarovṛtā*
12 *surendrakanyā Madanīti viśrutā kadācidāraṇyani*
13 *vāsimandiram didṛkshurālokapadam jagāma sā*
14 *sarahpravātambuja viskhalapriyāviyogabhītam*
15 *kalahamsamaṇḍalam | aśokabhūmāvupaviśya*
16 *saspṛham vilokayantī mupasasthivānṛshim || Ume-*
17 *va Śarvam prababhūva nātmano nirīkshitam Kāmamiva-*
18 *rshiveshinam | athobhayam gāḍhanibaddhabhāvakam*
19 *surānganāssanga mayāmbabhūvire || asūta kāle sura-*
20 *rājakanyā nātham bhuvassāgara mekhalāyām sa pallavo*
21 *ghāstaraṇe śayānam pitā sutam Pallava ityāvadīh (||)*
22 *Mahendravarmmeti tatah kshitīśah śūrastato jayati*
23 *Simhavarmmā || tatOrkkavarmā tadanUgravarmmā Śrī-*
24 *Simhavishṇoratha Nandivarmmā || anekarājanyaśiro-*
25 *maṇiprabhāvibhātakalpāyitaśarvarāsthitih*
26 *sa Simhavarmmā samabhūdya ucyate hayadvipāshṭāda śalakshako*
27 *janaih || sa sāgarāmbarāmurvim Gangāmoktikahāriṇīm |:babhā-*
28 *ra suciram vīro Meru Mandarakuṇḍalām || atha kadācidama-*
29 *ragiriśikharāya mānakaricaraṇaṇakharāvidāritaka-*
30 *nakadalacaraturagakhuramukhasamutthitarasta-*
31 *panīyavitān■nabhasthalah sakalamaṇḍalikhasāma-*
32 *ntasa maravīroparacitapārshṇipārśvapuronurakshokhi-*
33 *ladigvijayārjjitayaśāh svāpanāya Sūmeruśi-*
34 *kharamupātishṭhata || tatra kila nikhiladharaṇītalapa-*
35 *ryyaṭaṇajanitaśramamapaninīsshuh katipayāni*
36 *dinani nītvā kanakataṭar uhaharicandanatarucchāyānandi-*
37 *tahṛdayah tatoBhāgīrathīm uttiryya tathaiva Gadāvarīm Kṛ-*
38 *shṇavernnām ca Sri Dhānyaghaṭanagarannama Vīṭarāgabhaṭṭāraka*
39 *madrākshīt dṛshṭvā sakutūhalamakhilakshetrarakshaṇani*
40 *(yu) ktādhidevatāssavinayamupāgamyābhivandyaikānte*

41. . . *dharmadeśanā maśrṇot śrutvā cāparajanmānam*

42. . . *bhivandyedamuvāca aha mapi bhagavan bhagavato*

43. . . *(di) kādihaiva maṇikanakarajatavicitram kalpa-*

44. . . *vamukte bhagavānuvāca | sādhu sādhu upā-*

45. . . *havarman ito parama Buddhakṣe(tra Sri)*

46. . . . . *shveveti tato (bhi)vandya* . . . .

47. . . . . *(Dhān)yaghatake* . . . . .

TRANLS.: May the particles of dust on the feet of Śrighana i.e. Buddha grant you excellent prosperity, dust particles that are opposed to bhava (cycles of births and deaths), and that incessantly shine amidst the cluster of rays of the crest-jewels of the lords of gods and demons.

There arose from the first creator a stainless sage and master of the Vedas named Bharadvāja; and of him (was born) an ocean receptacle of rivers of Speech named Angira; and of him (was born) a sage well known as Sudhāma.

Of him (was born) a sage named Droṇa, of terrible valour, learned in (lit. who had seen the shore of) Āgamas. He pleased Śiva (lit. the eight-bodied one) by austerities for the sake of a son who would continue his House.

By the grace of Śambhu there was born a resplendant (son) well known as Aśvatthāma, (brilliant) like the sun soon after his appearance in the morning.

Once, surrounded by celestial nymphs, the daughter of the lord of the gods known as Madanī, desirous of seeing the home of the hermits (forest-dwellers), came within his sight (lit. the path of his vision), when he was engaged in penance.

The sage approached her as she sat under the Aśoka (tree) fondly observing a flock of noble swans that were afraid of separation from their beloved ones by the flutter of the lotuses in the breeze on the lake.

Like Umā (on seeing) Śarva she could not contain herself on seeing him (who was) like Cupid in hermit's garb. And now the celestial damsels joined them both deeply in love with one another (in wedlock).

In time the daughter of the king of the gods bore (a son) the lord of the ocean-girdled earth. The father called the son Pallava (tender shoot) as he lay on a (couch prepared of a) collection of tender leaves.

From him (was born) the king Mahendravarma and of him was born the hero Simhavarma; from him Arkavarma and then Ugravarma and from Śrī(Simhavishnu, Nandivarma.

That (renowned) Simhavarma was born, the darkness of whose audience hall was made bright as day by the lustre of the crest jewels of many kings, and who is spoken of by men as the lord of eighteen lacs of horses and elephants.

He long ruled (lit. bore) the earth, whose garment is the ocean, the river Gangā a necklace of pearls and the mountains Meru and Mandara earrings.

Once he came to the peak of Mount Sumeru to establish his fame acquired by conquering all the quarters, surrounded in the rear, flanks and front by all his vassal chiefs and heroes in battle, with the sky made to look like a canopy of gold by the (golden) dust raised by the edges of the hoofs of his horses walking on gold bits torn up by the nails of the feet of his elephants that resembled the peaks of the celestial mountain *i.e.* Meru.

Desirous of removing his fatigue caused by traversing the whole world he spent some days there, his heart gladdened by the shade of the red sandal tree growing on those golden slopes, and having crossed Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) and similarly Gōdāvarī and Krishnavarṇṇā he saw the town named Dhānyaghata whose lord is Vītarāga (Buddha). . .

Having seen with interest and reverentially approached and bowed to all the deities enjoined to protect the sacred locality, in a secluded place . . . he heard the teaching of dharma.

Having heard the highest-born . . . he bowed and said

I also O! Lord! . . . (desire) to prepare here a . . . . of the Lord . . . . . wonderfully worked in gems, gold and silver . . . . Being told thus, the Lord said.

Well well . . . O (Simha)varma! Here is the very sacred Buddhist place . . .

Then having bowed . . . . in (Dhānva)kataka.

NOTES.—Hultzsch has given a revised translation of the first verse in *Ep. Ind.* vol. x, p. 43 correctly interpreting *Śrīghana* a synonym of Buddha. In l. 3 he corrects *anantarayye* into *anantaram ye*; in l. 8 *atarpayat* in the place of *atarpayan*; in l. 9 *Aśvātthā* into *Aśvatthā*; in l. 14 *viskhalapriyā* into *vishkhalatpriyā*; in l. 16 *rshim* into *rshih*; in l. 17 *nirīhshitam* into *nirīkshyā tam*; in l. 20 *mekhalāyām* into *mekhalāyāh* and *pallāvo* into *pallavau*; in l. 21 into *ityavādīh* into *ityavādīt* into *ityavādīt*; in l. 23 *tadan Ugravarmā* into *tadan Ugravarmā*; in l. 27 *moktika* into *mouktika*; in l. 29 *śikharayamāṇa* into *śikharāyamāna*; l. 30 *samutthitavajas* into *samutthitarajas*; in l. 31 *nabhasthala* into *nabhastala*; in l. 33 *yasās svāpanāya* into *yasassthāpanāya*; in l. 38 *Kṛsṇavernam* into *Kṛshṇavernām*; and in l. 41 *deśānām* into *deśanām*. Of these in l. 3 the mistake may be due to transposition of letters and it may be read *anāratam ye* as the corrected reading of Hultzsch does not give the meaning required here. *Aranya* in l. 12 and *nabhasthala* in l. 31 are not wrong forms. In l. 14 the corrected form lacks only '*t*' and '*s*' should not have been changed into '*sh*'. *Kṛshṇaverṇṇā* in l. 38 may be *Kṛshṇavarṇṇā*.

No. 61 (II E, 30).

Chanda 1, No. 42, p. 271.

TEXT: . . *riyasa saputakasa ūnisa*

TRANSL.: Coping by . . . with his (wife) and sons.

No. 62 (II E, 31).

Chanda 1, No. 58, p. 275.

TEXT: *pavacitāya Bhadaya pavacataya Nakaya doyadhamma nama* . .

TRANSL: The meritorious gift of the nun (pavacita) Bhadā (Bhadrā) and of the nun Nakā.

NOTES.—The top stroke of *d* in *deya* as pointed out by Chanda is accidental and makes it *doya*. As Chanda suggests *Bhadaya, Nakaya* and *pavacataya—pavacitāyā* should be read *Bhadāyā, Nakāya* and *pavacitāya*.

No. 63 (II E, 32).

Burgess 2, p. 44; Hultzsch 4, p. 554, No. 20; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 102, pl. lvii, No. 25; Luders' list No. 1270, p. 151.

TEXT: . . (*sa*)*liyanam mahav*(*i*)*nayadharasa aya Bu*(*dhi*)*sa atevāsikasa pavaci*(*ta*) . . .

TRANLS: (Gift) of the ascetic . . . the disciple of the worthy Budhi (Buddhi) of the . . . . seliya school, great scholar of Vinaya.

NOTES.—He may belong to one of the two *Saila* schools, *Puva* or *Avara*.

No. 64 (III A. 3).

Burgess 2, p. 35; Hultzsch, p. 556, No. 25, xl, p. 344, No. 25. Burgess 1, p. 48, pl. xviii 2 and lvi, No. 11; Lüders' list No. 1254, p. 148–9.

TEXT: 1 *gahapatisa Budhino putasa Makabudhino sapi*

2 *tukasa sabhaginikasa sabhāriyasa*

3 *deyadhamo paricakā be sūciya dāna*

TRANLS.: Pious gift of two cross-bars with circular panels (paricaka), by Makabudhi (Mrgabuddhi), son of the householder Budhi (Buddhi), along with his father, sister and wife.

No. 65 (III A, 5). See pl. lxv. 3.

TEXT: 1 . . *kāya bālikaya Cadāya*

2 *cha suci*

TRANSL.: (Gift of) six cross-bars (sūci) by Cadā (Candrā), the daughter of . . .

No. 66 (III A, 7). See pl. lxv, 1.

TEXT. . . ( ) *kasāmi matulasa mahātoḍasa bhāriyāya Visāghanikāya Yagāya ca damnabhaginīnaṁ danapuvam yāka unisa*

TRANSL.: A coping slab given as gift, by the sharers of the merit (damnabhaginīnaṁ—dharmabhāginīnām), ... Visaghanikā (Viśākhanikā) the wife of Mahātoḍa (Mahātota) the uncle of . . . . kasami, and Yagā (Yajña)

No: 67 (III A, 8).

Burgess 2, p. 32. Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p 55, pl. xxi 2 and lvi No. 13, a, b; Lüders' list No. 1252, p. 148; Franke, p. 600.

TEXT: . . . . *gahapatino Idasa duhutuya gharaṇiya Kaṇhāya duhutuya upāsikāya Kāmāya saputikāya sabhātukāya sabhaginikāya bhikhuniyā ca Nāgamitāya taya (sukaya ba ?).*

TRANSL: (the gift) of the female lay worshipper (upāsikā), Kamā, the daughter of the housewife Kanhā (Kṛshṇā) and of the householder Ida (Indra), with her sons, brothers and sisters, and of the nun Nāgamitā (Nagamitrā) . . .

NOTES.—Franke corrects Burgess' reading *bhikhunikaya* into *bhikuniya*.

No. 68 (III A, 11).

TEXT: 1 . . . *(bhik)uniya*

2 . . . *(kumā)rikaya*

3 . . . *(dā)na*

TRANSL. : . . gift . . . of the daughter . . . of the nun . . .

NOTES.—This text is based on Burgess' reading of the inscription as the original is covered now with cement. Burgess (1, p. 48) describes it thus—" The next is a cross bar from the north-east quadrant, and has been very much injured, and the inscription at the upper left corner mostly broken off, leaving in the first line – *uniya*, perhaps of *bhikhuniya*; in the second—*rikaya* of *kumārikaya* (?); and in the last *na* of *dāna*, 'gift.'

No 69 (III A, 12).

Burgess 2, p. 30; Hultzsch 5, p. 346, No. 53; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 53, pl. xx 2 and lvi, no. 6, Lüders' list No. 1250, p. 148.

TEXT: 1 *Rajagirinivāsikasa*

2 *vetikānavaka makasa*

3 *therasa bhayata Budharakhitasa*

4 *atevasi . . . varurikaya bhikhunina Budharakhita(ya)*

5 *sadhutuka . . . . ya Dhamadinaya Sagharakhi*

6 *tasa ca dānam*

TRANSL. : Gift . . of the num (bhikhunī) Budharakhitā (Buddharakshitā) of . . . varuru, the female disciple of the elder (thera) venerable (bhadanta) Budharakhita (Buddharakshita) the overseer of the repair works (navakamaka) of the rail (vedika); with her daughters, and of Dhamadina (Dharmadatta) and of Sagharakhita (Sangharakshita).

NOTES.—Burgess reads '*chetikānavakamakasa*' and Lüders has accepted it. But the first letter is clearly '*ve*' and hence means the rail. It is thus clear that rail was renovated as Taranatha records during the time of Nagarjuna and it is really interesting to know that a monk named Budharakhita supervised the renovation work of the rail for which some of his disciples donated carved slabs.

No. 70 (III A, 17).

Hultzsch 4, p. 560, No. 45; Bühler's reading in Burgess 1, p. 37, pl. xii 3 and lvi 8; Franke, p. 599; Lüders' list No. 1286, p. 153.

TEXT: 1 *Vinayadharasa aya Punavasusa atevāsiniyā uvajhāyiniya Samudiyaya-atevāsiniya Malāya peṇḍaka*

2 (dā)na

TRANSL.: Gift of a slab by Malā the female disciple of the female teacher Samudiyā the disciple of the worthy (aya) Punavasu (Punarvasu) learned in Vinaya (texts).

NOTES.—Franke corrects Burgess and Bühler's reading *vinayadhirasa, i.e.,* firm in the Vinaya as *Vinayadharasa*, i.e., learned in Vinaya texts (*see* also Nalinaksha Datta, Notes on Nagarjunakonda inscriptions, Ind. Hist. Quart. vol. vii, p. 640). Lüders corrects the reading of Burgess and Bühler *uvayiniya* which he leaves untranslated as *uvajhayiniya* meaning female teacher. Franke corrects Burgess and Bühlers' reading *pādakā dana* into *pādu(kā) dāna, i.e.,* gift of footprints. But the letters appear *peṇḍaka* a slab. *Pādukā* cannot be meant here as it is an upright slab and not a slab with feet.

No. 71 (III A, 19). See pl. lxv, 4.

Burgess 2, p. 33; Hultzsch 4, p. 552, No. 12; Lüders' list No. 1253, p. 148.

TEXT: *Kojasa(?) cakapato (dā)na*

TRANSL.: Gift of a . . slab by Koja.

NOTES.—If Kojasa has '*u*' beside it joined with '*s*' as it appears then it is *ucaka paṭo* same as *udhaka pato* or *udha pato* or *upato*, the terms usually used. Hultzsch translates it as tablet bearing a wheel which is not improbable.

No. 72 (III B, 9).

Burgess 2, p. 51; Hultzsch 4, p. 550, No. 2; Burgess 1, p. 61, pl. xxvii 1 and lvi, No. 2; Lüders' list No. 1279, p. 152; Rapson, p. lii, No. 19.

TEXT: *rāño Siri Sivamaka Sadasa paniyagharikasa pa* . . .

TRANSL: . . . of the superintendent of the water houses (paniyagharika) of king Siri Sivamaka Sada.

NOTES.—Rapson equates *Siri Sivamaka Sada* with Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi.

No. 73 (III B, 11).

Burgess 2, p. 31; Burgess 1, p. 62, pl. xxvii 2 and lvi, No. 15; Lüders' list No. 1251, p. 148.

TEXT: *Kaligāya mahācetiya utarāyāke unisadāna*

TRANSL. : Gift of coping stone at the northern entrance (āyāka) of the great caitya by Kaligā (Kalingā).

NOTES.—Lūders does not mention *Kaligā* but refers to the donor as some female person. He also adds 'with her family' since in the reading of Burgess there is . . . *kayasa* at the beginning of the inscription. This portion is now lost on the slab.

No. 74 (III B, 20).

Burgess 2, p. 41 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 553, No. 14, xl, p. 344, No. 14 ; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 63, pl. xxvii, 6 and lvi, No. 16 ; Lūders' list No. 1264, p. 150 ; Franke, p. 600.

TEXT : . . . *nilikā mahayāya Sujātamya mahāvasibhūtaya duhutāya bhikhuniy Rohāya athaloka dhaṁma vitivatāya dā(na)*.

TRANSL. : gift of the nun Rohā, who has passed beyond the eight wordly conditions, the daughter of the venerable Sujātā of great self-control.

NOTES.—Franke corrects Burgess' reading *dāna* into *da(na)*.

No. 75 (III B, 23). See pl. lxv, 6.

Burgess 1, p. 57, pl. xxii ; Lūders' list No. 1259, p. 149.

TEXT : . . . *Mahācatusa sabhariyasa saputakasa saduhutukasa unisa dāya dhaṁmaya dāya*

TRANSL. : Coping slab, gift as pious offering . . . by Mahācatu, with his wife, sons and daughters.

No. 76 (III C, 4). See pl. lxv, 17.

TEXT : I *Nāgabu*

1 *dh* (*u*) *no*

TRANSL. : Of Nāgabudhu.

This is similar to another where Chanda suggests that it is probably the name of the stone mason which is likely.

No. 77 (III C, 29).

Chanda 1, No. 30, p. 268. Prabhakara Sastri 2.

TEXT : *Nāgabu*

NOTES.—Chanda thinks that this is the name of a stone mason which is quite probable. There is the same name in letters as big occurring on another slab just at the rough uncut base of the upright as in this case but it is in two lines having thus additional letters (see No. 76).

Mr. Prabhakara Sastri believes that this is early Telugu for 'snake'. But the evidence offered by the previous inscription makes this suggestion of his impossible.

No. 78 (III D, 9). See pl. lxv. 5.

TEXT : *1 Kāraparikasa*

2 Nāgamalasa (?)

3 va Kan(ha)sa ca badhi

TRANSL. : The badhi (?) of Kāraparika, Nāgamala and . . . Kanha (Kṛshṇa).

No. 79 (III D, 14).

Burgess 2, p. 41; Hultzsch 4, p. 553, No. 14; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 101–102, pl. lvi, No. 12; Lüders' list No. 1263, p. 150.

TEXT: 1 *Cetiyavadakasa bha*
2 *yata Budhino bhātu*
3 *no Papāno ā*
4 *nugāmikasa*
5 *suci dāna*

TRANSL.: Gift of an ānugāmika cross-bar by Papā the brother of the reverend (bhayata) Budhi (Buddhi) a Cetiyavadaka.

NOTES.—Burgess and Hultzsch translate *ānugamikasa* as "the gift accompanying (him after death)". Burgess suggests that "Chaityavāda is the same as Chaitikiya." Lüders translates *Cetiyavadaka* as the Chaitya worshipper and cites No. 1223, with the nasal clear, i.e., *Cetiyavaṁdaka*.

No. 80 (III) D, 15).

Burgess 2, p. 37; Lüders' list No. 1315, p. 156.

TEXT: 1 . . . *ya samanikāya*
2 *(Sa)ghamitāya sabhā*
3 *tukāya sabha*
4 *(g)inikāya*
5 *dānaṁ*

TRANSL.: Gift of the nun (samanikā) Saghamitā (Sanghamitrā) with her brothers and sisters.

NOTES.—The reading of Burgess of a gap after *sabhā* (1 : 2) restoring '*(duhu)*' immediately after that cannot be admitted as the ends of the line of the inscription are clearly preserved and it is *sabhātukāya*.

No. 81 (III D, 20).

Burgess 2, p. 25, No. 112; Lüders' list No. 1310, p. 156.

TEXT: 1 *nam sa*
2 . . . *tāsa*
3 *(n) i (sa)*

Not clear.

No. 82 (III D, 21).

TEXT: *gaha*

TRANSL.: house(holder).

Fragmentary.

No. 83 (III D, 23).

Burgess 2, p. 53; Hultzsch 4, p 552, No. 10; Burgess & Hultzsch, 1, p. 102, pl. lvi, No. 14; Lüders' list No. 1237, p. 146.

TEXT: 1 *aya Kamāyasa ativā*
2 *siniyā dānam*

TRANSL.: Gift of the female disciple (atevāsinī) of the worthy (aya) Kamāya.

NOTES.—Burgess reads the line *Kamāya (Sadhugavā)siniyā* and translates "of the worthy Kamā (inhabitant of Sadhuga)"; Lüders reads *Aya-Kamaya* (*Ārya-Kamāya*) but takes *ativāsiniyā* to mean two female disciples.

No. 84 (III D, 24). See pl. lxv, 2.

Burgess 2, p. 18–19, No. 60 and p. 53; Hultzsch 4, p. 553, No. 13, vol. xl, p. 344, No. 13: Lüders' list No. 1241, p. 146.

TEXT: 1 *Budhara*
2 *jida*

TRANSL.: (gift of cross-bar—sujidāna—by) Budhara (khitā) . . . Fragmentary

No. 85 (III D, 39). See pl. lxv, 16.

TEXT: 1 *Kamamātuya gharaniyā*
2 *Budhāya suji dānam*

TRANSL.: Gift of a cross-bar by the housewife Budhā (Buddhā) the mother of Kama (Karma).

No. 86 (III D, 40).

Burgess 2, p. 25; Hultzsch 5, p. 345, No. 50: Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 102, pl. lvii, No. 27; Lüders' list No. 1247, p. 147.

TEXT: 1 *Budhilagahapatiputasa heraṇika(sa)*
2 *Sidhathasa samitanātibādhavasa suyi*
3 *dānam*

TRANSL.: Gift of a cross-bar by the banker Sidhatha (Sidhārtha), son of the householder Budhila, along with his friends, jñātis and relatives.

No. 87 (III D. 41). See pl. lxv, 15.

Burgess 2, p. 39; Hultzsch 4; p. 557, No. 29 and xl, p. 344. No. 29; Lüders' list No. 1261, p. 149.

TEXT: 1 *Chadākicasa sethipamukhasa*
2 *bhadaniga*ma*sa suci*
3 *dānam*

TRANSL.: Cross-bar, gift of the righteous townfolk of Chadākica (Chandakṛtya) headed by merchants (sethi).

NOTES.—Hultzsch first took *Chadakica* as the name of a trader and subsequently corrected his reading. The first letter is *cha* and the work *Chadakica* may be *Chandakṛtya* or *Chadakṛtya*. *Ma* is added below in l. 2 by the scribe who incised the lines.

No. 88 (III D, 42).

Chanda 1, No. 32, p. 268-269.

TEXT: *Tukāya suci dānaṁ*

TRANSL.: Gift of cross-bar by Tukā.

No. 89 (III E, 2).

Burgess, 1, p. 63, pl. xxviii, 3; Lüders' list 1288.

TEXT: . . *tijikā ya?) (a?) (sa?) bha*

Not clear.

No. 90 (III E, 3).

Burgess 2, p. 36; Hultzsch 4, p. 559; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 58, pl. xxiv, 1; Lüders' list No. 1256, p. 149.

TEXT: . . . *sa pātukasa Ajakasa unisa savaniyuta deyadhaṁmaṁ*

TRANSL.: Pious gift of coping stone, at the instance of all, by Ajaka (with his father?).

NOTES.—Burgess has pointed out in a footnote that Hultzsch reads *sapātukasa* as *sapitukasa* meaning 'with his father' and Lüders accepts it. Burgess translates *savaniyuta deyadhammam* as common meritorious gift.

No. 91 (III E, 5).

Chanda 1, No. 41, p. 270-271.

TEXT: . . . *mahāgovalāva balikāya (na)* . . .

TRANSL.: . . of the daughter of the great cowherd (mahāgovalavā—mahagovallava.

NOTES.—Chanda reads *govalivu.*

No. 92 (III F, 4).

Burgess 2, p. 55; Hultzsch 4, p. 555, No. 24; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 87, pl. xlv, 6 and lx, No. 45; Franke, p. 600; Lüders' list No. 1276, p. 152.

TEXT: *uvāsikāya Cadaya Budhino mātuya saputikāya sadutukāya airānaṁ Utayipabhāhinaṁ cediyasa chata deyadhaṁmaṁ*

TRANSL.: Meritorious gift of umbrella for the caitya (cediya) of the worthy airānam Utayipabhāhi by the female lay worshipper Cadā (Candrā), mother of Budhi (Buddhi), with her sons and daughters.

NOTES.—The term *Utayipabhāhi* is puzzling. Burgess has suggested that this may be synonymous with *uttaraparvatas* or *uttaraselas.* The nasal is not quite clear in *airānaṁ* and *Utayipabhāhinam.*

No. 93 (III F, 7).

Burgess 2, p. 23; Hultzsch 4, p. 555, No. 23; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 82, pl. xlii, 8 (given by mistake as 7 in the text) and xvii 18; Franke, p. 600; Lüders' list No. 1246, p. 147.

TEXT : *aya Retiyā atevāsiniyā ayadhamāya dānam*
(above this) – in letters of the seventh century A.D.
Srī Viprajanapriyana

TRANSL. : Gift of the worthy Dhamā (Dharmā), female disciple of the worthy Reti (above this) – of the auspicious one, beloved of Brāhmaṇas.

No. 94 (III F, 8). See pl. lxv, 11.

TEXT : 1 . . . *nam janā(nam)ca* . . .
2 , . . *(i) rakasa Maha Nāga* . .
3 . . . *patarige bhosa (u)* . .
4 *n (i) sapatā dāna*

TRANSL. : A coping slab, gift of . . . the worthy (. . . irakasa to be read ayirakasa) Maha Nāga . . .

(Fragmentary ; the rest makes no sense.)

No. 95 (III F, 9).

Chanda 1, No. 44, p. 271.

TEXT : . . . (*sa)putakasa ūnisa pāda* . . .

TRANSL. : (gift of) coping . . . by . . . with his sons.

No. 96 (IV A, 1). See pl. lxv, 10.

TEXT : . . . *(ka)sa bhadata Budhisa Cula Budhisa bhaginiyā B(u)dhā(ya)* . . . *(da)harabhikhuni Piduvanaṭāya*

TRANSL. : . . . (Gift) by Budhā, staying (thāya with *ṭh* faint at one end and appearing *ṭ*) in the Piduvana of young bhikkhunis, sister of . . . the monk Budhi (Buddhi) and Cula Budhi Kshulla Buddhi)

No. 97 (IV A, 3).

Burgess 2. p. 53 ; Hultzsch 4, p. 552 and xl, p. 343 ; Burgess & Hultzsch, 1, p. 82, pl. xlii 4 and lviii No. 28 ; Franke, p. 600, Lüders' list, No. 1239.

TEXT : *(?sa)tutamasa naravasabha saṁmasaṁbudhādicasa* || *upāskasa Nārasalasa vāṇiyasa Nāgatisasa gharaṇiya Nākhāya sahā apano putehi heraṇikena Budhinā Mūlena* . . .

TRANSL. : (Adoration) to the best . . . the foremost of men, the truly Enlightened, the Sun || (The gift) of Nākhā the wife of the merchant Nāgatisa (Nagatishya), inhabitant of Narasala, with her sons, the treasurer (heraṇika) Budhi (Buddhi), Mula, . . .

NOTES.—Burgess takes *Nārasala* as the name of a person and Luders takes it to mean an inhabitant of *Nārasala* qualifying *Nāgatisa*. The latter interpretation is more probable.

No. 98 (IV A, 9).

Burgess 1, pl. lvii, No. 21 (no text) ; Lüders' list No. 1299.

TEXT: *hara ānavar(u)no vamakhu āraṇa arayadhama tharāṇa Dhamasarayaya(na ?) apara*

TRANSL.: . . . ? the elder (tharāṇa=thereṇa) (following) the noble life of the forest-dweller (ārana araya dhama), Dhamasarayana (Dharmaśrayaṇa) . . .

The rest is not clear.

NOTES.—Burgess has figured the inscription but has not read it. *Āraṇa* or *araṇika* means a hermit, literally one who dwells in a forest. The latter word occurs in an inscription from Bedsa (see Lüders' list No. 1110).

No. 99 (IV A, 10).

Burgess 1, p. 93, pl. xlviii 4 ; Lüders' list No. 1295, p. 154.

TEXT: *Sidham Kudūranivāsikasa bhayata Nāgasa atevāsikasa daharabhikhusa Vidhikasa atevāsiniya ca Budharakhitāya natiya ca Cūla Budharakhītāya ca utarāyake paṭo dāna.*

TRANSL.: Success; Gift of a slab at the northern gate by the young monk (daharabhikhu) Vidhika, disciple of the reverend (bhayata=bhadanta) Nāga, who resides at Kudūra, and by his female disciple (*atevāsinī*) Budharakhita (Buddharakshitā) and by her grand-daughter Cūla Budharakhitā (Kshulla Buddharakshita).

NOTES.—There is Srivatsa mark at the beginning of the inscription and *ulūkhala* (mortar) shaped symbol at the end. *Kudūra* occurs in the Kondamudi copper plate of the Brhat-dhalāyana king Jayavarma. The district and its headquarters town were *Kudūra*--Kudūrahāra and Kudūranagara (see Lüders' list No. 1328).

No. 100 (IV A, 13).

Burgess 2, p. 18 ; Hultzsch 5, p. 345, No. 49 ; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 78, pl. xl, 6 and lvi, No. 19 ; Lüders' list No. 1240. p. 146.

TEXT: 1 . . . *Bhagavato Kavurūre vathaviyā pavajitikayā Vabayā tha*

2\. . . *yā Hamgiyā bhāyitiyā Bodhiyā utayā imaṁ peṇḍaka patitham (pi)*

3\. *a* *ta*

TRANSL.: (Adoration) to the Lord ! This slab (peṇḍaka) was set up by Hamgi (Samgh[1]) the daughter of sister (bhāyiti) Bodhi . . . of the nun Vaba residing at Kavurūra.

NOTES.—Hultzsch compares the Sanskrit word *piṇḍaka* with *peṇḍaka*; and Burgess takes it to mean an upright or jamb.

No. 101 (IV A, 14).

Chanda 1. No. 28, p. 268.

TEXT: 1. . . *bhar(a?)*

2 kumāri Siricampura

TRANSL: : . . . the princess Siri Campura.

No. 102 (IV C, [1]).

Burgess 1, p. 72, pl. 1 and lvii No. 17; Lüders' list No. 1281.

TEXT: . . *(sidha)tanam Pukirathe adhithāne . . . vathavasa Hamgha gahapatiputasa vaniyasa Samudasa gharaniya ca Koḍacandi gaha(pati) . . . na ca savasa ca lokasa hitasukhathataya Bhagavato mahāc(e)tiyasa unisasa pa . . .*

TRASNL.: (Adoration to Siddhathas (Siddhārthas)! Gift of coping stone to the great stupa of the Lord by the wife of the merchant Samuda (Samudra), the son of the householder Hamgha (Samgha), living in the chief city of the Puki district (Pukiratha=Pukirāshṭra), and by the . . . house(holder) Kotacandi, for the welfare and happiness of the whole world.

NOTES.—Burgess reads '*kodicha digaha* (?*pa*)' suggesting '*pa*' for '*ha*' at the end. '*Ha*' is correct since it is '*gahapa*' with final letter '*ti*' lost. The beginning of the inscription is read by Burgess *(Sid)ham. Champukiratha*, Hail . . in the province of Champuka; and Lüders reads it '*Tompuki*' with a query. It may be read . . *(sidha) tanam Pukirathe* with *namo*, the first word, lost.

No. 103 (IV C, 9). See pl. lxv, 8

Burgess 1, p. 72, pl. xxxi, 6 (not noted).

TEXT: *Sidham (namo) bhagavato gāmmamahivathasa peṇḍavatikasa Nāgasenasa khudacetiya . . . Haghavāṇikiniya patiṭhapitam savasatamata a . . .*

TRANSL.: Success! (Adoration) to the Lord! Erected by the merchant's wife (Haghā (Samghā), at the small caitya of the mendicant (peṇḍavatika) Nāgasena living in village parts, for the . . . of all.

NOTES.—This establishes that some of the stupa slabs were for smaller votive stupas. Such stupas were unearthed by Rea (see Dir. Gen. Arch.'s annual report for 1905). Thus unless we know definitely from where the slabs were recovered it cannot be said whether they belong to the large stupa or the smaller votive stupas.

No. 104 (IV E, 2).

Rea 2, p. 117, pl. xlviii, No. 1; Lüders' list No. 1205 a; Chanda, No. 34, p. 269.

-TEXT: *sa Tulakicasa gahapatisa Kubulasa putasa Budhino bhāriyāya Tukāya saputikaya sabhaginikāya paṭo deya dhammaṁ*

TRANSL. : Pious gift of slab (pata) by Tukā, the wife of Budhi (Buddhi), the son of the householder Kubula, a Tulākica ?, with her son and sister.

NOTES.—Lüders reads '*kubala*' and Chanda '*kubula*'. The latter reading is acceptable. Lüders takes '*Tulakacha*' to mean an inhabitant of *Tulaka* but Chanda thinks it doubtful. Can *Tulakica* mean one whose work (*kicca*) is to weigh ? It would then mean a banker.

No. 105 (IV E, 3).

TEXT : *kasa*

TNRASL : Of . . .

Fragmentary.

No. 106 (IV E, 5).

Chanda 1, No. 51, p. 273.

TEXT : . . ? *Budhusirivadiyasa puto ? lama*

TRANSL. : . . . the son of Budhusirivadiya.

NOTES.—Chanda reads the name as *Vadiya*. The name is reminiscent of *Vādsiri* (*Vādaśrī*) the wife of *Sangaharakhita* in the Mahad cave inscription (see Lüders' list No. 1073).

No. 107 (IV E, 6).

TEXT : . . . *vasava* . . . . *rava* . . . . *ya ?* . . . *la* . .
Too fragmentary to make any sense.

No. 108 (IV E, 8).

Burgess 1, p. 85, pl. xliii, 3 and lviii No. 29 ; Lüders' list No. 1292, p. 154.

TEXT : *vāniyiniyā Nākacampakiyā* . . . . *Cadasiri(sa)* . . . *Siri* . . . *Dhanikasaṭhanikāya Budhilaya ca dhana dhamaṁ unhisinhi nivide magasa hetukanantana*

TRANSL. : . . . Coping gift of the merchant's wife (vāniyinī) Nākacampaki (Nāgacampaka) . . . Cadasiri (Candraśri), . . Siri (Śrī), the wife of a rich caravan leader (dhanikasathanikā) Budhila . . .

NOTES.—Burgess read only the first name and Lüders has given the other names.

No. 109 (IV E, 9).

Hultzsch 4, p. 559, No 40 ; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 85, pl, xliii, and 9 and lviii, No. 31 Lüders' list No. 1283, p. 153.

TEXT : . . . *Haghaḍaya Kaṁdaḍaya Saṁghaḍaya* . . . *(i)ma uṁhisa patithavita ti*.

TRANSL. : This coping stone was set up by . . . Haghaḍā (Saṃghadā), Kaṃdaḍā (Skandadā), Saṃghaḍā . . .

NOTES.—Burgess has read the first name *Hayadā* and Lūders has accepted it. It appears *Haghaḍā*. The name Hagha or Haṃgha is common.

No. 110 (IV E, 10).

Burgess 2, p. 13; Hultzsch 5, p. 345, No. 47; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 85, pl. xliii 6 and lvii, No. 22; Lūders' list No. 1235, p. 145.

TEXT : *Sidham namo bhagavato savasatūtamasa Budasa Mandaravaṭhavasa pavaito Sidhaṃtasa bhaginiya*

TRANSL. : Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of all beings! (Gift) of the sister ot the monk (pavaita) Sidaṃta, living at Mandara.

NOTES.—Burgess reads *Budhasa* but the *d* is not aspirated in the inscription as it ought to be. He also reads *Isiumta* (*Rshigupta*) which is corrected by Franke into *Sidaṃta* and accepted by Lūders.

No. 111 (IV E, 12).

Hultzsch 4, p. 560, No. 42; Burgess 1, p. 85, pl. xliii 8 and lviii, No. 30; Lūders' list No. 1285, p. 153.

TEXT : *Sidham namo bhagavato Vijayapuravathavasa Cada* . . . . *vaniyiniya Sidhiya* . . . sa *patithavita*

TRANSL. : Success! Adoration to the Lord! (This coping stone) was erected by the merchant's wife (vaniyinī) Sidhi (Siddhi), . . . of Cada (Candra) residing at Vijayapura.

NOTES.—Burgess reads *Cada* (*sa bālikāya*) and *unisa* where the letters are now completely lost.

No. 112 (IV E, 13).

Hultzsch 4, p. 560, No. 42; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 85; Lūders' list 1284, p. 153.

TEXT : . . . *Bhavāta—Dhammasiriayā—Pasamayā—Hagas(i)ri—Cadā—Ravisiri uvasaka—ima patiṭhavi(ta)*

TRANSL. : This is erected by the reverend (bhavata) Dhamasiriā (Dharmaśrikā), Pasamā (Praśāma), Hagisiri (Agniśrī), Cadā (Candrā) and the lay worshipper Ravisiri (Raviśrī).

Hultzsch and Burgess read *Chapa* (*Champa*) and Lūders has accepted it. It is clearly *Cadā*.

No. 113, (IV E, 14).

Burgess 2, p. 12 and 53; Hultzsch 4, p. 551, No. 6; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 85, pl. xliii 4 and lvii, No. 23; Lūders' list No. 1233, p. 145.

TEXT : . . . *(ante)vasikasa Mahegānājakāsa bhayaṃtā Nādhasiris(i)sa(sa) bhayaṃtā Bu* . . .

TRANSL.: . . . the venerable (bhayaṁta) Bu . . . disciple of the venerable Nadhasiri (Nāthasri) inhabitant of Mahegānājaka and disciple (antevasika) of . . .

NOTES.—Hultzsch supplies *ante* before *vasika* which is lost, and it is probable. But *Mahenkhānājaka* read by Hultzsch and accepted by Lūders appears to have a letter more approaching *ga* than *kha*.

No. 114 (IV E, 15)

Chanda 1, No. 52, p. 273.

TEXT, 1 *Dhanagirivatava Nagabudivaniyāputa Nakasiri bahiniya Puse* . . .

TRANSL.: . . . of Pusi . . . sister of Nakasiri (Nāgasri), son of the merchant Nāgabudi (Nagabuddhi), residing at Dhanagiri.

No. 115 (IV E, 16).

TEXT: *tupeghaya* . . . . *sa*

Fragmentary.

No. 116 (IV F, 4).

Chanda 1, No. 54, p. 273.

TEXT: 1 *Retikasa Nekhavanasa* (*ā*?).

2 *puyuvilaya* . . . *ka*

TRANSL.: Of Retika of Nekhavana

The rest is not clear.

NOTES.—Chanda reads '. . . *ratika*' as qualifying *Nekhavana* which he takes as a proper name. *Reti* and *Retika* are more common as names than *Nekhavana* (See Lūders' list 1337 and 1246, the former *Reta* among the names on the Bhattiprolu casket, and the latter *Reti* a Buddhist nun in an inscription from Amaravati).

No. 117 (IV F, 5).

Chanda 1, No. 49, p. 272.

TEXT: (*Sidham*) . . . . *sa bāl*(*i*) (*ka*)*ya Nakabudha*(*nikāya*).

TRANSL.: Success! (Gift) of Nakabudha (nikā) with her daughter.

NOTES.—Chanda has read *neku-budha* and has not translated the line. It is obviously *Nakabhudha*, probably the *Nākabudhanikhā* of the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions, daughter of the *āvesani* (artisan) *Sidhata* (Nos. 1202 and 1203 of Lūders' list).

No. 118 (IV G, 8).

Burgess 2, p. 22; Hultzsch 4. p. 555 No. 22; Burgess & Hultzsch, 1, p. 103, pl. lix, No. 38; Franke, p. 600, Lūders' list No. 1244, p 147.

TEXT : 1 *Sidham Jadikiyānam Sidhāthagahapa*

2 *tisa bhariyaya Khadaya sadhutukaya*

3 *saputikaya samatukāya sabhatakasa*

4 (*sa*) *gharasun*(*hā*)*ya sahajanatihi*

5 *bhagavato mahacetiya padamale.*

6 *apano dhamathāna divakhabho patithavito.*

TRANSL. : Success! At the foot of the great caitya of the Lord has been placed a lamp pillar, as seat of merit, by Khadā (Skandā) the wife of the householder Sidhatha (Siddhartha) of the Jadikiya (Caityaka) school, with her daughters, sons, mother, brothers, daughters-in-law of the house . . . and her own jñātis (husband's paternal cousins).

NOTES.—As Burgess points out in a footnote the last two letters of l. 3 should be *kayā*. There is clearly a letter below *na* in *sunhā* in l. 4 and Burgess and Hultzsch have therefore read *sunhāya*. Franke reads this as *sunāya*.

No. 119 (IV G, 9).

Burgess 2, p. 42 and 54; Hultzsch 4. p. 554, No. 17; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 86, pl. xliv 2 and lviii, No. 32; Lüders' list No. 1265, p. 150.

TEXT : 1 *adh*(*a*)*b*(*a*)*bh*(*a*) . . .

2 *tukasa dāna ma* . . .

3 *pasanikamātula Nada* . . .

TRANSL. : . . . . gift . . . of Nada (Nanda) . . . the uncle of the stone-worker (pasanika=pashāṇika from pāshāṇa, stone).

No. 120 (IV G, 10).

Burgess 2, p. 54; Hultzsch 4, p. 556, No. 28; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 104, pl. lix, No. 42; Lüders' list No. 1260, p. 149.

TEXT : 1 . . . *Hiralure Rāhulagahapatisa bhāriyāya Bhagiya bālikāya*

2 . . . (*Ka*) *maya natukānam ca khabho*

TRANSL. : Pillar, (gift) of the grandsons of Kama (Kāmyā) the daughter of Bhagi the wife of the householder Rāhula . . . in Hiralura.

No. 121 (IV G, 12).

Chanda 1, No. 50, p. 272-273.

TEXT : 1 . . *gavato samasambudha*(*sa*) *B*(*u*) . .

2 . . . *gasela sighara ga* . . .

3 (*na*)*aṁ parigaha mahas*(*a*)

4 . . . . *yata Ānanda* . . *ra(ya*

5 . . *ya vaniyasa Budhi*

6 *ga*

Chanda and Thomas have given two different readings. The inscription is too fragmentary to translate. It begins with adoration of Buddha and mentions a merchant Budhi and Ānanda.

No. 122 (IV G, 13).

(Figure of man above and below in letters of the sixth century.)

TEXT : 1 *makaḷaya*

2 . . . . . *maka*

3 *kakapakaprani*

4 *ma*

1 *Śrī sakaḷā*

1 *ma ya*

1 *ya*

Fragmentary.

No. 123 (IV G, 14). See pl. lxv, 14.

TEXT : 1 *Sarvavirīdhaḥ bhandato(nghā)ta*

2 *cairikapādhaḥ apara. pa*

The letters are very queer and no sense can be made out.

No. 124 (IV G, 15).

Burgess 2, p. 52; Hultzsch 4, p. 550, No. 5, xl p. 344, No. 5; Burgess & Hultzsch 1, p. 105, pl. lx, No. 49; Lüders' list No. 1230, p. 144.

TEXT : 1 *Sidham* . . .

2 *ma(hā) vanase* . . .

3 *malāna sisihasa (sa)*

4 *gahagūjākaṁḍasa Dhamilavaṇi* . .

5 *yaputasa Gadhikasa vaniyasa* . .

6 *rakhitasa sapitukasa samātuka* . .

7 *(bha)riyakasa sa(bha)tukasa sa* . .

8 . . *putaka (sa)sadhutukasa sagharas(uṇhaka)*

9 *sa sanatukasa*

10 . . *sanatimitabadhava (sa)*.

11 . . . . *padhānama(ḍa)vo* . . . .

12 . . . .

TRANSL. : Success! (Adoration to the Lord) . . . An important pavilion (padhānamadavo) has been erected as a meritorious gift for the Order (Sagha deyadhama), by the merchant

Dha(ma)rakhita (Dharmarakshita), dealer in perfumery, son of the merchant Dhamila (Dharmila), of Gahagūjākaṁḍa, disciple of the (pure teacher Sariputa of) Mahavanasela (Mahāvanaśaila), with his father, mother, wife, brothers, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law of the house, grandsons, jñatis, friends and relatives.

NOTES.—Since the inscription was published by Burgess part of the slab has got broken and a small part has flaked off. Burgess and Hultzsch read the name of the donor *(Si)ri(da)ta* but it clearly reads *Dha . . . rakhitasa*, i.e., *Dhamarakhitasa*. Burgess and Hultzsch have not translated *Gahagūjākaṁḍa*. This appears the locality whence came the donor. The end of l. 8 read by Hultzsch *sa(vadhujaña)* should be read *sagharas(uṇhaka)sa*. *Gharasa* is so clear that it is impossible to read *vadhujana* the term *gharasuṇhā* occurs in another inscription (see Burgess 1, p. 103, No. 38).

No. 125 (IV G, 17).

Chanda 1. No. 29, p. 268.

TEXT : . . . *yasa ceti (ya ma)dhā vetika capa*

TRANSL. : If *dha* may be read as *hā* as it is possible then it would mean . . . the great rail of the caitya. Chanda, as any one would, finds it difficult to see what *madhā* means and suggests that it may be a local *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *madhya*.

No. 126 (IV G, 18).

Chanda 1, No. 27, p. 267.

TEXT : 1 . . . *game vāthavasa gahapatisa Vākāṭakasa gahapatiki(ni).*

2 . . . *nā therena Bodhikena bhāriyāya Camunāya sabhatukehi.* .

3 . . . *kehi sanati mitabadhavehi ca apano āyuvadhanika* . . .

TRANSL. : . . . Of the householder . . . of the Vākātaka clan, residing in the village . . . of the housewife . . . by the elder (thera) Bodhika . . . of (Vākātaka's) wife Camuna with her brothers . . . with jñatis, friends and relatives, for his longevity . . .

NOTES.—Chanda points out that *Vākāṭaka* is a clan name. *Nati* in *natimitabadhava* in l. 3 is a jñāti and not a grandson.

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APPENDIX I

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PLATES

PLATE I.

SATAVAHANA ART IN RELATION TO EARLIER AND LATER ART.

1 *a* Bharhut.	*b* Ajanta.	*c* Amaravati.
2 *a* Sanchi.	*b* Mathura.	*c* Amaravati.
3 *a* Amaravati.	*b* Ajanta.	*c* Mahabalipuram.
4 *a* Mathura.	*b* Amaravati.	
5 *a* Karle.	*b* Amaravati.	
6 *a* Polonoruva.	*b* Amaravati.	

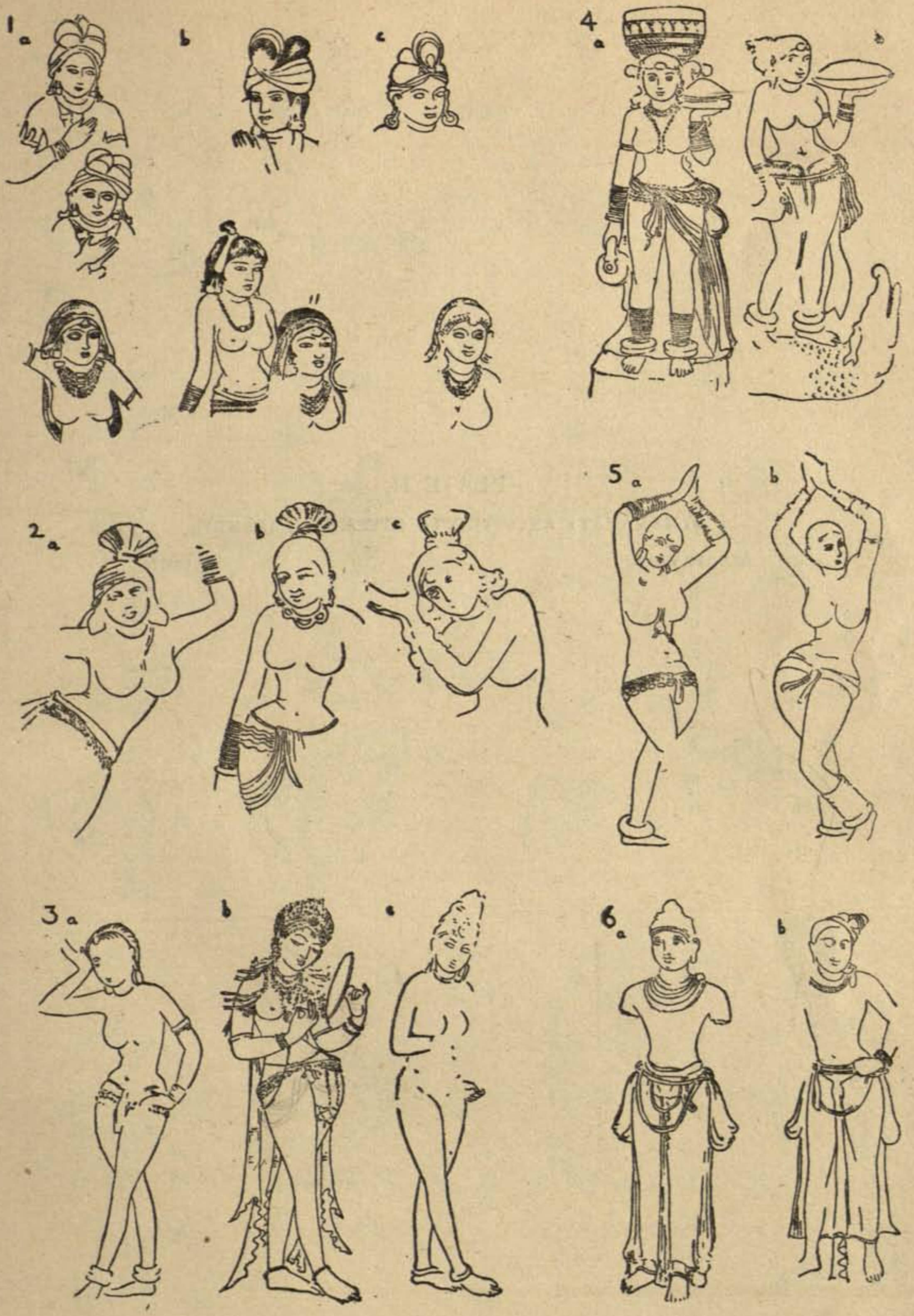

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PLATE II.

AMARAVATI AND AJANTA STYLES COMPARED.

Amaravati.	Ajanta.
a	*b*
c	*d*
e	*f*
g	*h*
i	*j*
k	*l*
m	*n*
o	*p*

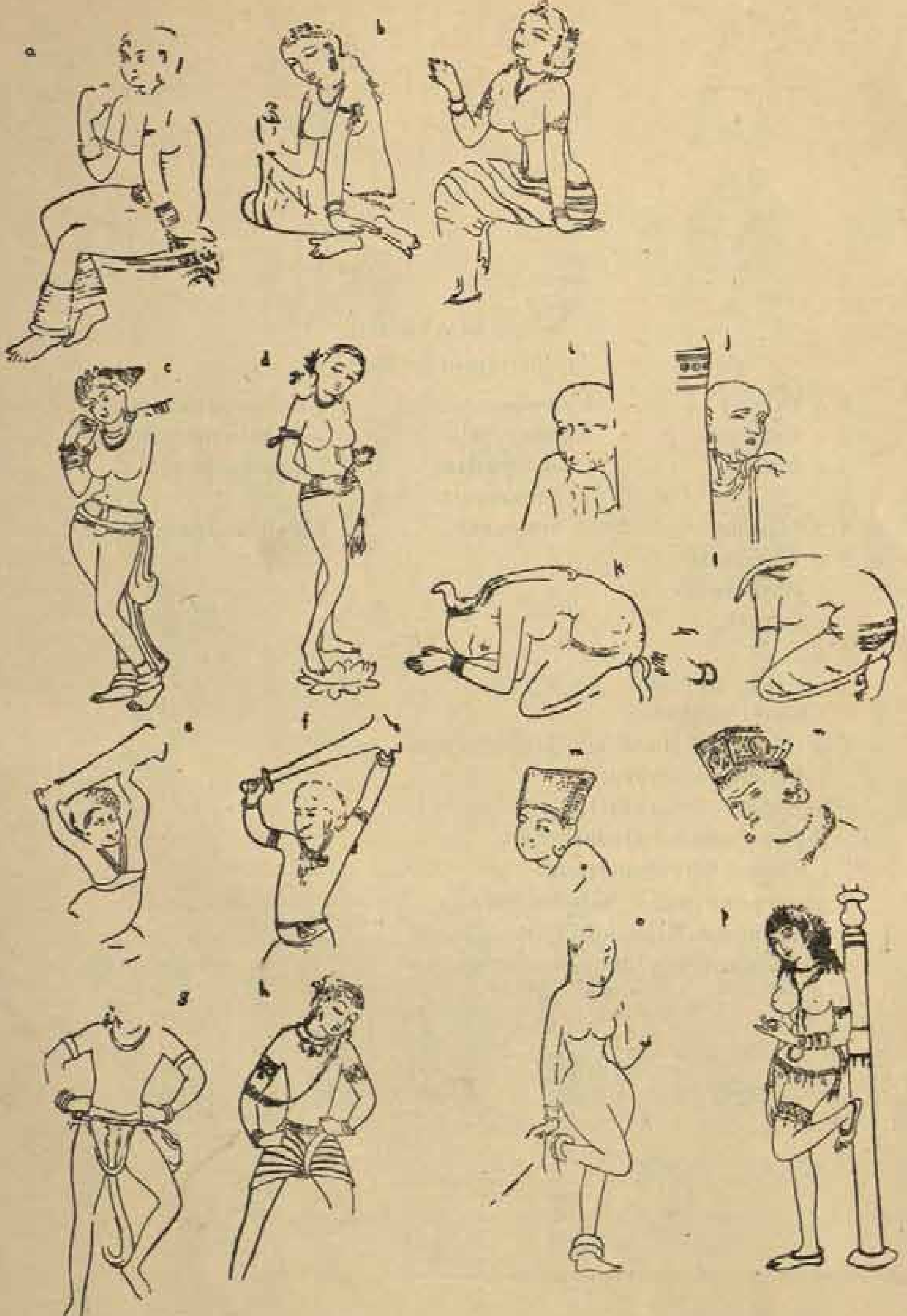

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PLATE III.

EVOLUTION OF MOTIFS

1 *a* Patna.	*b* Amaravati.	*c* Kaveripakkam.
2 *a* Parkham.	*b* Amaravati.	*c* Mahabalipuram.
3 *a* Bharhut.	*b* Gudimallam-Amaravati.	*c* Trichinopoly.
4 *a* Bharhut.	*b* Amaravati.	*c* Mahabalipuram.

5 *a* Amaravati.
b Ghantasala.
c Sarnath.
d Ajanta.
e Mahabalipuram.
f Kaveripakkam.

6 *a* Cakravarti Mandhata, Jaggayyapeta.
b Buddha, Amaravati.
c Buddha, Amaravati
d Mahapurusha, Trichinopoly.
e Vishnu, Satyamangalam.

7 Sphinx and griffin, Mahabalipuram.

8 Lion throne, Mahabalipuram.

9 Head of cow-boy, Mahabalipuram.

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PLATE IV.

ANIMALS, REAL AND MYTHICAL. DEITIES, AND SYMBOLS.

Animals: True—

1 elephant.
2 lioness.
3 deer.
4 buffalo.
5 bulls.
6 ram.

Animals: Mythical (*Ihāmṛgas*)—

7 winged lion.
8 winged horse.
9 winged elephant.
10 & 13 mermen.
11 elephant-fish (*gajavaktra jhasha*).
12 sphinx.
14 griffin.
15 horned lion.
16 makara.
17 winged deer.

Deities—

18 nagaraja.
19 river goddess.
20 nagini.
21 yaksha Kubera.
22 Pancasikha.
23 Mara on Girimekhala.
24 Maha Pathavi.
25 Sakka.
26 Vajrapani.
27 yaksha (precursor of Ganapati type).
28 tree-spirit.
29 Sri Lakshmi on lotus.
30 kinnara.
31 garuda.

Symbols—

32 seven footprints on silk, symbol of Bodhisatta's birth and seven steps.
33 feet, empty throne, and wheel on pillar, symbol of seated Buddha.
34 flaming pillar rising from a pair of feet on lotus and crowned by trisula on wheel, symbol of Buddha standing.
35 and 38 sirivaccha.
36 and 37 svastika.

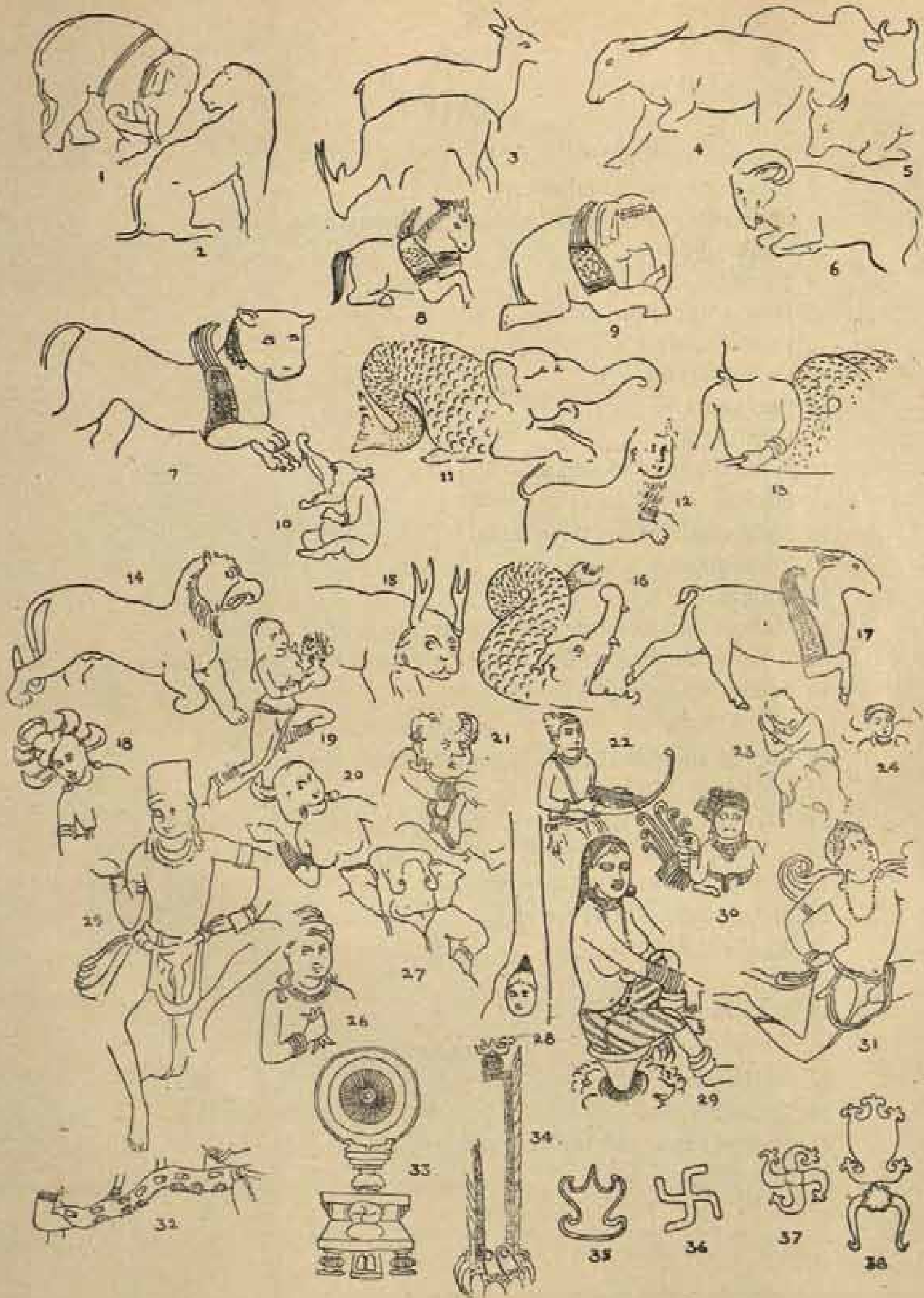

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PLATE V.

Royal Emblems, Attendants, etc.

1 Superior type of umbrella.
2 Chatradhara or umbrella-bearer with umbrella.
3 Standard-bearer.
4 Standard.
5 Bearer of cornucopia.
6 Double umbrella.
7 Chauri-bearer.
8 Fan of state.
9 Pratīhārī.
10 Humbler type of parasol.
11 Kirāta.
12 Līlākamala or sportive lotus.
13 Vāmanikā.
14 Kubjā.
15 Mahout on elephant awaiting the pleasure of the king.
16 King descending from elephant attended by umbrella-bearer.
17 Groom beside horse.

Vessels.

18, 19, 22 Dhammakaraka, spouted vessel.
20 Chashaka or cup.
21 Paribhojanīya ghaṭa, small water pot.
24 Madhubhāṇḍa or wine pot on rest, pattamaṇḍala.
25 Pānīya sarāva, shallow saucer.
26 Thālika, deep bowl for rice.
27, 30 Bhinkāra.
28 Tray.
29 A pātra or cup.

Miscellaneous.

32, 33 Lamps.
34 Talavanta, fan.
23, 31 Toy horse and toy elephant.
35 Balance

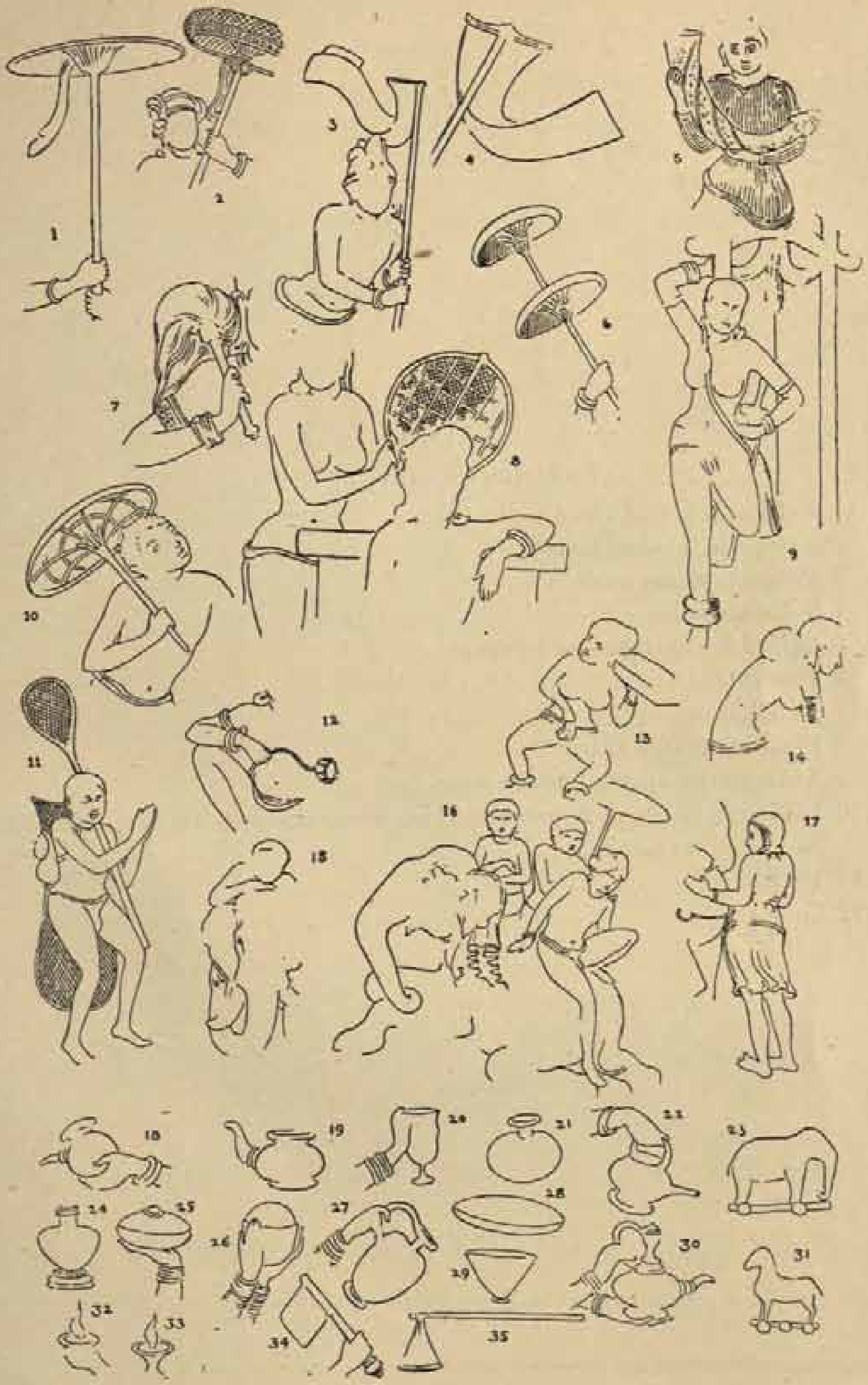

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PLATE VI.

Ornaments and Dress.

1 Keśāpaśa bound close to the head.
2 Keśapāśa, loosely bound.
3 Peacock-plume mode.
4, 9 Keśabandha.
5 Lalātikā, ornament for forehead.
6 Praveṇī.
7 Jaṭābhāra.
8 Plain undressed hair.
9 Avatamsaka mode of flower-wear.
10 Lalāmaka mode of flower-wear, Prabhrashtaka near left ear, cūdāmakarikā, a variety of nishka.
11 Pratīhārī.
12 Long shield.

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PLATE VII.

Ornaments and Dress.

1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10 Turban with attractive folds.
2, 3, 5, 7 Turban with jewel.
2, 3 Turban with jewel to the right.
2 Turban with paṭṭabandha or ornamental gold strips.
2, 3 Turban with jewel to the right.
5, 7 Turban with jewel centrally arranged.
4, 12, 13 Turban with tucked up and loosened end.
5 Phalakahāra.
10 Turban with flowing end from median circular knob.
8 Sakka's crown.
11 Feather decoration.
14 Kañuki's turban and coat.
15, 16, 17, 18 Sikhaṇḍa and jatābhāra modes combined.
18 Karṇikā.

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PLATE VIII.

Ornaments and Dress.

1 Kanakakamalas.

2 Kuṇḍalas.

3 Trikaṇṭaka.

4 Bālikā.

5 Kuṇḍala.

6 Ekāvalī, uttarīya, turban.

7, 11 Angadas entwining the arm.

8, 23 Gemset angada.

9, 11, 12 Kanakadora.

10 Ratnakuṇḍalas.

13 Warrior's channavīra in vaikakshaka fashion.

14 Phalakavalaya and muktāvalaya combination near wrist and ratnavalaya on top.

15 Phalakavalaya immediately above ratnavalaya near wrist.

16 Ratnavalayas.

17 Ring-shaped mañjīra.

18 Mañjīra with kinkiṇīs or small bells attached.

19 Multicoiled mañjīra.

20 Karnotpala.

21 Kabarībandha with flower-wreath in garbhaka mode, pearl necklaces.

22 Turban with jewel, Karṇaveshṭana.

23 Dhammilla pearl-bedecked with flowers above in avatamsa mode, kundala, suvarṇa vaikakshaka, rope-shaped raśanā, śatavallika mode of dress.

24, 29 Nishka.

25 Udarabandha. muktāyajñopavīta. angulīyaka, hastisoṇḍika mode of dress.

26 Tālavantaka mode of dress.

26, 28, 34 Mekhalā.

27 Chain-shaped raśanā and mekhalābandha.

30 Mekhalābandha, āprapadīna dress.

31 Kakshyābandha of maddavina type with muraja end.

32 Kakshyābandha, macchavālaka mode of dress.

33 Satavallika mode of dress, and channavīra vaikakshaka fashion.

34 Chaṇḍātaka and mekhalā.

35 Grecian type of āprapadīna dress.

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PLATE IX.

ORNAMENTS, DRESS AND TOILET.

1 Ascetic in his bark dress, deerskin and staff.

2 Cikuras or bhramarakas, ringlets of hair near the forehead, and keśapāśa decked with flowers in vidhūṭika mode.

3 Turban decorated with pearls and central gem, kuṇḍalas similar to makara-kuṇḍalas of later date.

4 Praveṇī with golden decorations.

5 Silken paṭṭikā for waist.

6 Jālavalaya.

7, 8 Praveṇī.

9 Stanottarīya.

10 Prasādhikā arranging the hair of her mistress.

11, 13 Prasādhikā painting the feet of her mistress with alaktaka.

12 Sthāsaka or pot containing hair-oil.

14 Monk's robes.

15 Kañcuka worn by an attendant.

16 Jewels taken out from jewel-casket.

17 Lady arranging curls with the aid of a mirror.

18 Prasādhikā presenting nupuras.

Sivaramamurti, del.

PLATE X.

Arms and other Military Accessories.

1 Asiputrikā of bamboo leaf shape, shield shaped like elongate fore-armed star, prāsa or spear.

2 Asiputrikā of lotus petal shape.

3 Kuthāra (axe).

4, 11 Bow at rest and in action.

5 Totra or ankuśa (goad).

6 Maṇḍalāgra sword and a small three-pronged shield.

8 Asiyashṭi.

7, 8, 10 Sword in kośa (sheath) attached by means of strap.

9 Churikā (small dagger)

12 Mudgara (hammer).

13 Sāmgrāmika ratha (war chariot).

14, 16 Śūla (trident) heavy and light.

15, 18 Gadā (club).

17 Bridle and jewelled strap for horse.

Vehicles.

19 Pravahaṇa or Go-ratha (cart drawn by bullocks).

20, 21 Śibikā or Caturaśrayāna (palanquin carried by men).

PLATE X.

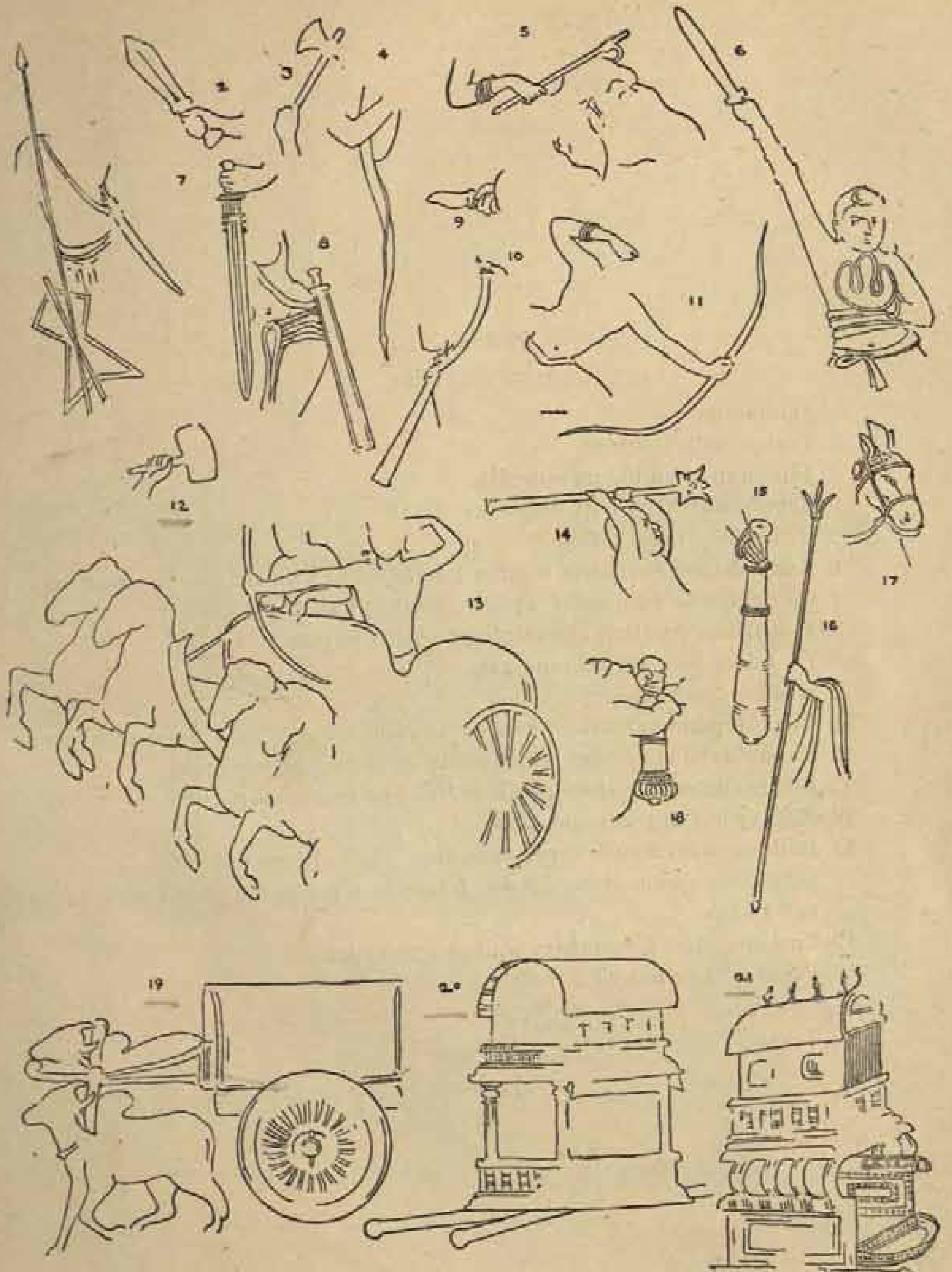

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PLATE XI.

ARCHITECTURE

1 Jālatoraṇa.
2 Toraṇa with festoons.
3 Jālatoraṇa and bahirdvaraśālā.
4 Gṛhadvāratoraṇa with doors (kavāta).
5 Richly decorated toraṇa.
6 Kudu-shaped gavāksha window having finial with sirivaccha ornament.
7 City gateway with sālās. aṭṭālas, koṭṭhāgāras, & prākara.
8 Balustrade (vedikā) of valabhī or roofed terrace.
9 Boundary wall with toraṇa gate.
10 Kudu on roof line.
11 Jālavātapāna or latticed window showing two different types of lattice.
12 Mahāvātapāna or huge window with radiating ribs in arch.
13 Pillars supporting storey with vedikā and mahāvātapānas.
14 Kuṭī or hut of reeds and grass.
15 Building with double toraṇa entrance, śālā, alinda, etc.
16 Salākā vātapāna or window with bars in a parṇaśālā or hut made of leaves and rushes.
17 Entrance, doors, boundary wall of kuṭi or hut.
18 Parna śālā or hut with thatched roof.

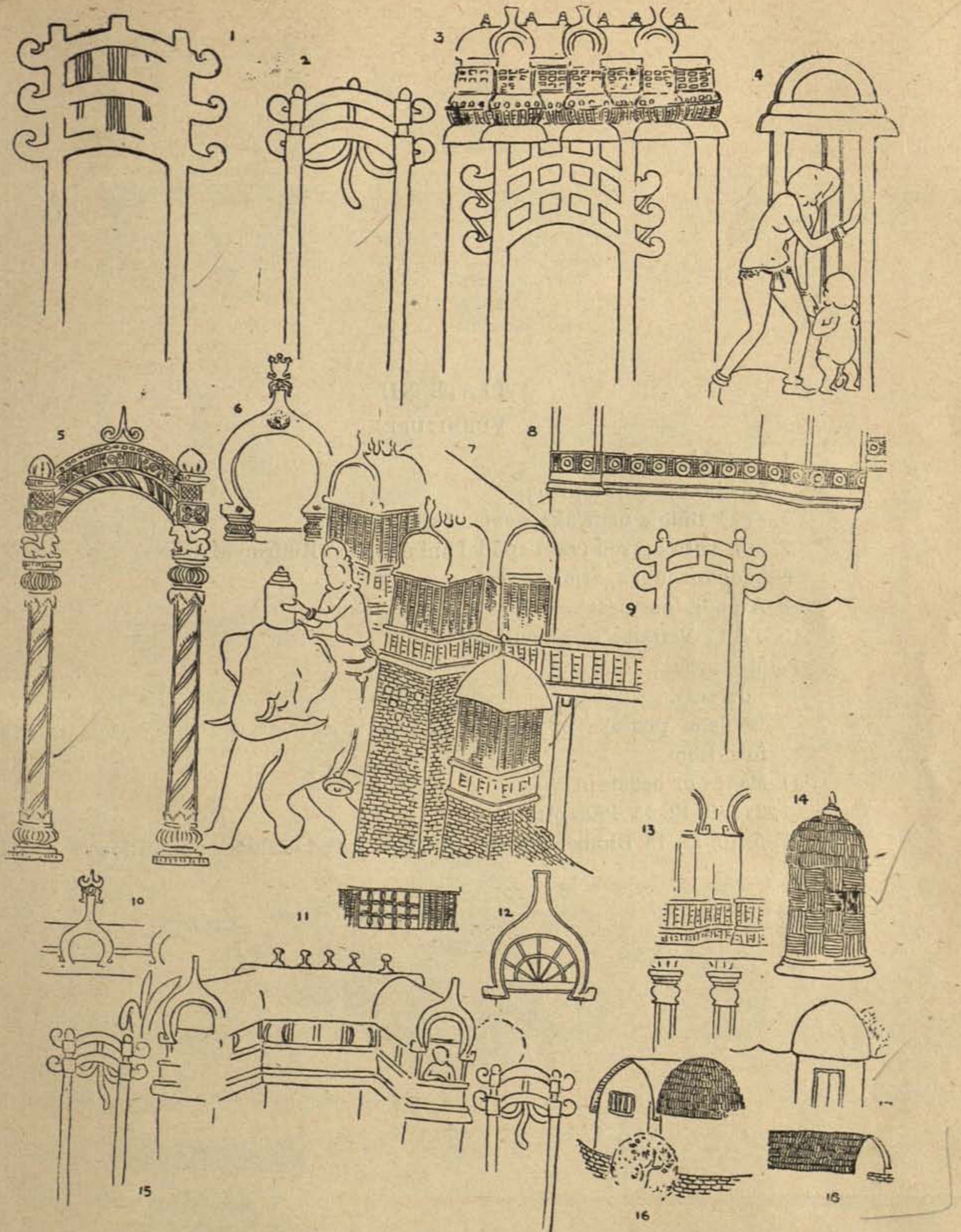

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PLATE XII.

FURNITURE.

1, 15 Sīhâsana.

2 Amalaka-vantika pīṭha.

3, 4, 13 Bidala mañcaka, seats of wicker work.

7 Seat with curved (vankapāda) animal legs (Kulīrapāda).

5 Addhapallanka, armless seat.

8 Âsandi, long seat.

6, 10, 14 Vettamañcaka without legs.

12 Mañca seat.

16 Low seat.

7 Bhojana phalaka or pattakandolika, wicker stands for vessels to take food from.

11 Mañca or bedstead.

1, 2, 3, 9, 12, 15 Pādapītha.

1, 5, 10, 12, 15 Bimbohaṇa and Bhisi or stuffed cushions and pillows.

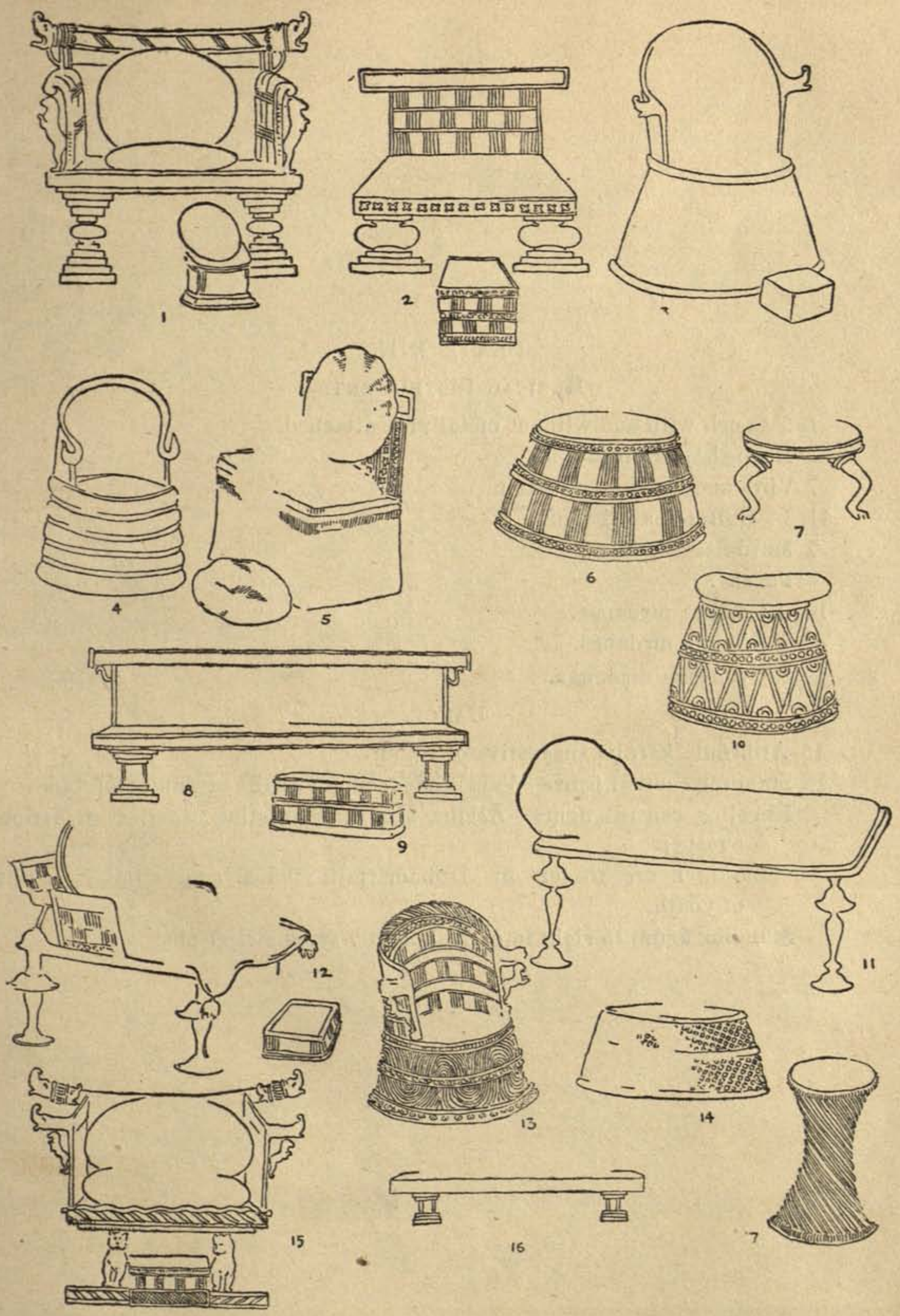

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PLATE XIII.

Musical Instruments.

1, 5 Conch with and without metal pipe attached.
3 Harp-shaped vīṇā.
7 Vīṇā and koṇa or plectrum.
11, 14 Guitar-shaped vīṇā.
2 Mardala.
4 Paṭaha.
10, 12 Ankya mṛdanga.
8, 9 Ālingya mṛdanga.
8, 9 Ūrdhvaka mṛdanga.

Dance.

15 Atikrānta karaṇa suggestive of valour.

16 Standing central figure—Vaiśākha-Recitaka at the beginning of dance.

Kneeling central figure—Āliḍha sthāna suggesting warrior in action or wrestler.

Standing figure to left in Ardhamattalli sthāna suggesting intoxication of youth.

Standing figure to right in corresponding symmetrical position.

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PLATE XIV.

First Period.

1 The conversion of the Jatilas.
The Jatilas adoring Buddha after the flood miracle.

2 Quarrel over the relics of Buddha.

a Fortifying Kusinara with arrows.

b Musical and dance festivities connected with Buddha's funeral.

c Quarrel for the relics.

d Carrying home the relics on elephants.

3 Back of 2.

4 Two men and border of geese.

5 Borders and human figure.

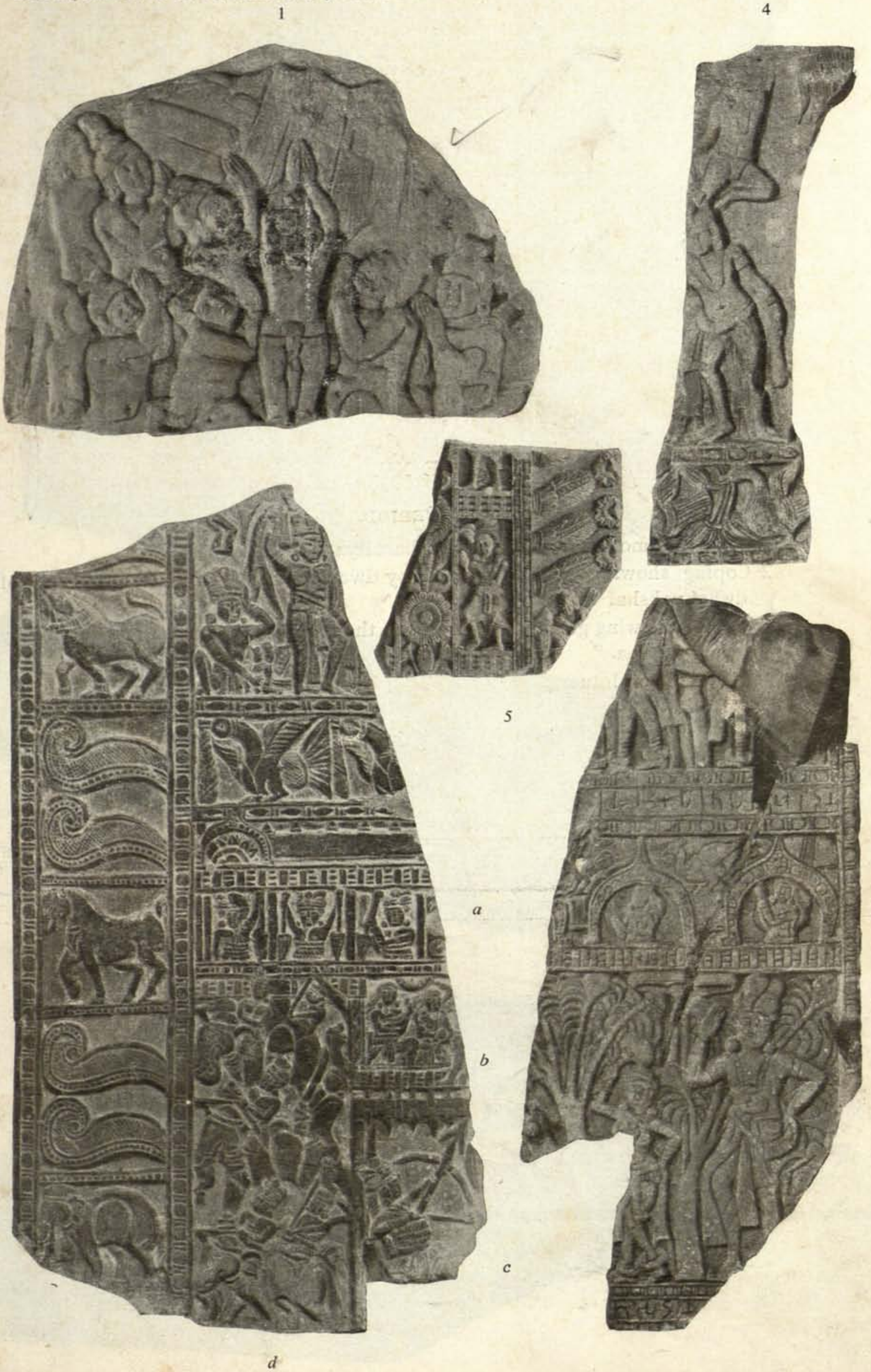
1
4
5
3
2
a
b
c
d

PLATE XV.

FIRST PERIOD.

1 Vihara or monastery around Vrkshacaitya.

2 Coping showing garland carried by dwarf yaksha. Note Ganesa type of dwarf yaksha.

3 Coping showing garland issuing from the mouth of a makara and carried by dwarf yaksha.

Note Sri on lotus.

1

2

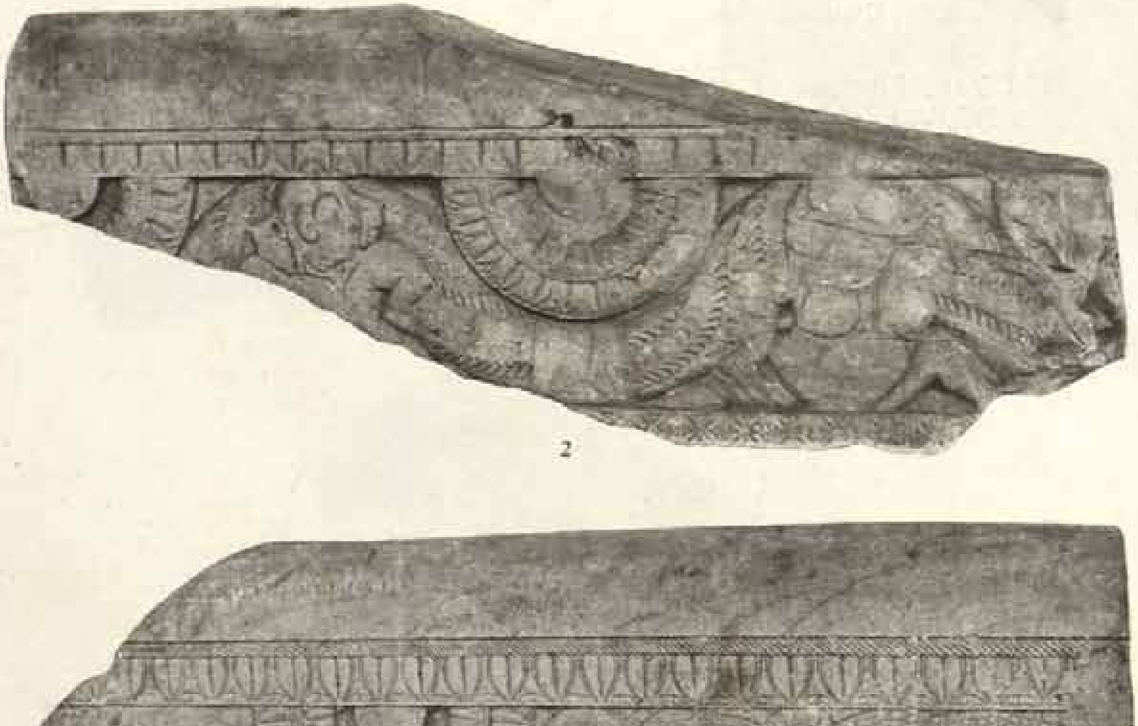

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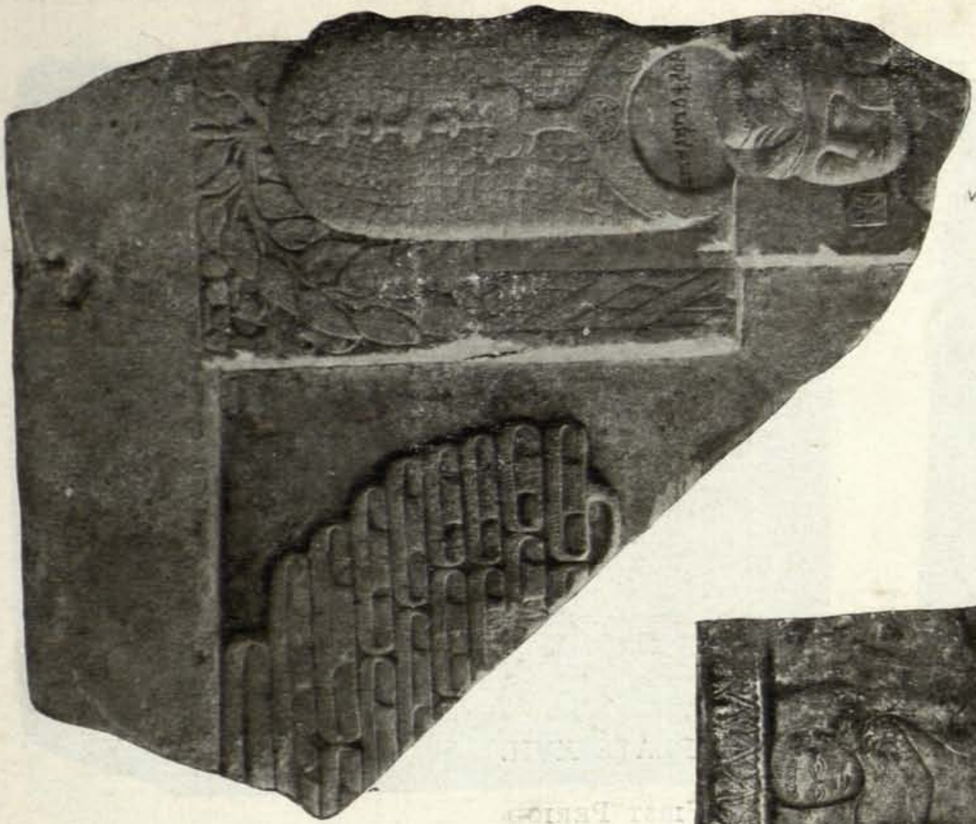
PLATE XVI.

FIRST PERIOD.

1 Yaksha Candamukha.
2 Kinnara.
3 Yakshi dryad
4 Frieze from rail plinth.
5 Pillar with bell capital and elephants on abacus.



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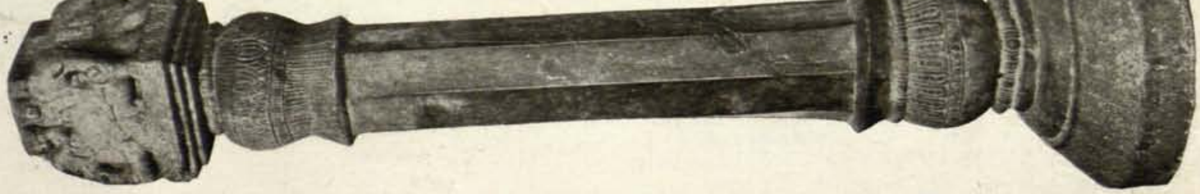

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PLATE XVII.

First Period.

1 Octagonal block with early carving (scenes *b* and *c*).
2 The shooting contest.
3 The Great Renunciation and Mara claiming Buddha's seat.
4 Dwarf Yaksha garland bearer.

PLATE XVII.

4

1

3

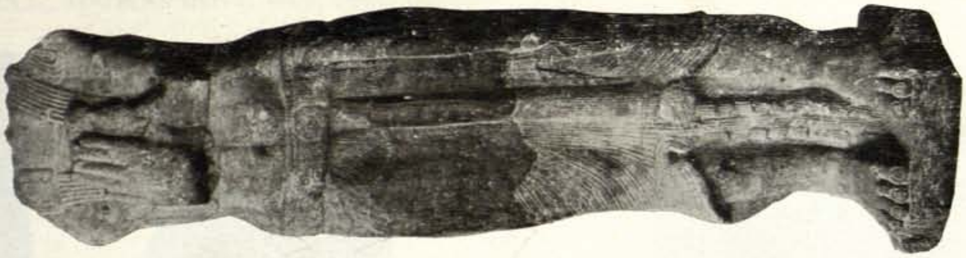
2

Lion pillar bottom

PLATE XVIII.

FIRST PERIOD.

1 Man and boy.
2 Yaksha or worshipper at the gate of the stupa; front view.
3 Back view of No. 2.



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1

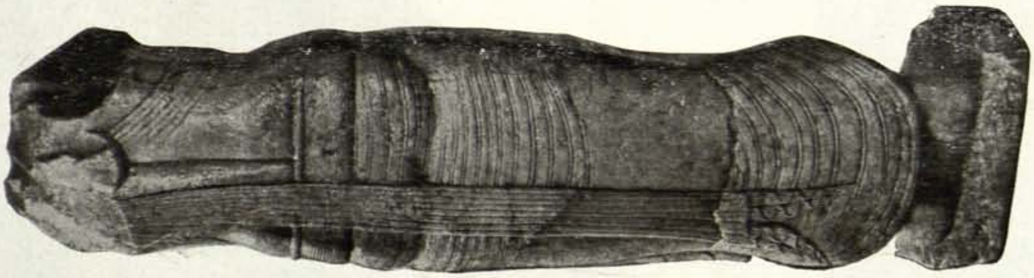

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PLATE XIX.

SECOND PERIOD.

1 *a, b, c*. Broken casing slab of three panels showing respectively the departure of Siddhartha, the adoration of the enlightened Buddha, and the opening of the Ramagrama stupa.

2 Dwarf yaksha feeding leonine stags.

3 Yaksha atlantes supporting vase whence issues foliage.

c

2

3

PLATE XX.

SECOND PERIOD. CASING SLABS.

1 Buddha preaching.

2 Buddha's first sermon symbolized by the wheel.

2

1

PLATE XXI.

SECOND PERIOD, CASING SLABS.

1 Buddha's enlightenment symbolized by the Bodhi tree.

2 Below : Buddha's death symbolized by the stupa. Above: lions and trisulas.

2

1

PLATE XXII.

SECOND PERIOD, CASING SLABS.

1 Buddha preaching to Nagas.

2 Monks adoring as the gong is sounded by dwarfs; above—row of lions.

3 Row of lions and trisulas.

1

3

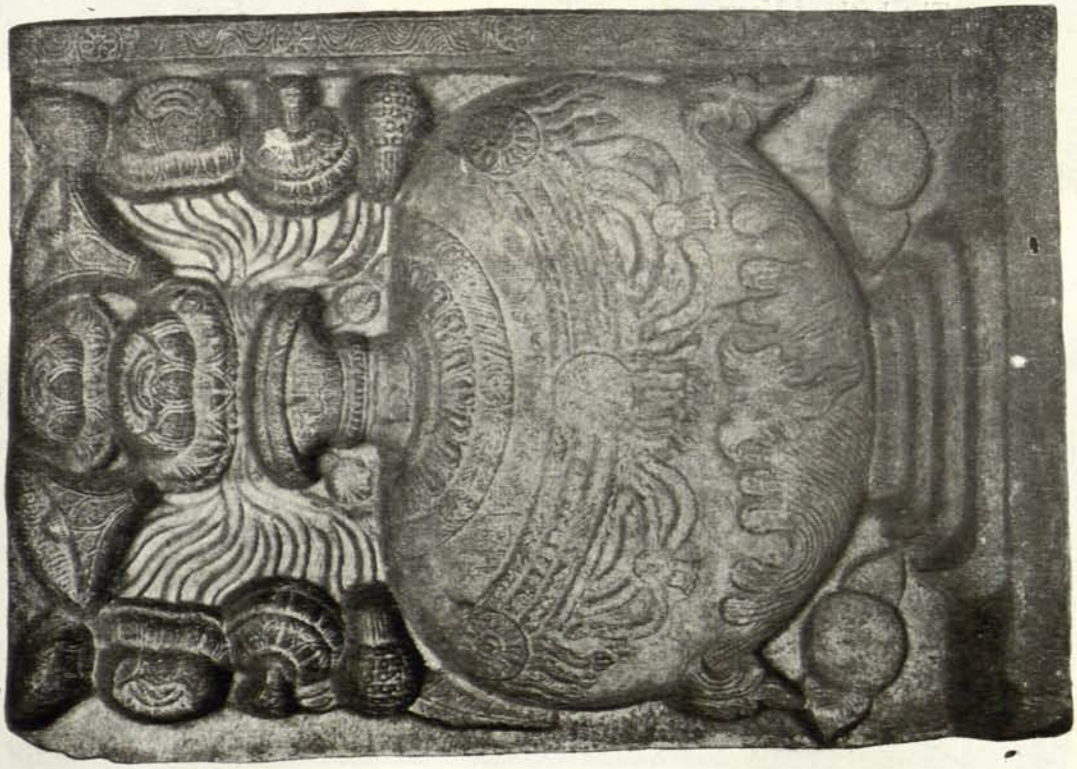
2

PLATE XXIII.

SECOND PERIOD, CASING SLABS.

1 Overflowing vase full of lotuses.
2 King or nobleman and his wives.

2



1

PLATE XXIV.

SECOND PERIOD.

1 Terraced building with two women on the topmost apartment.
2 Simple rail showing uprights and cross-bars (First Period).
✓3 The bath of Maya.
✓4 Pillar with wheel above broken and lost

4

2

3

1

PLATE XXV

THIRD PERIOD, CROSS-BARS.

1 Subjugation of Nalagiri.

a Nalagiri rushes along furiously in the streets of Rajagrha.

b Nalagiri bows at the feet of Buddha.

2 The presents of King Bandhuma.

Pages present the golden wreath and precious sandalwood in a casket to the king.

a *b*

1

2

PLATE XXVI.

THIRD PERIOD, CROSS-BARS

1 Translation of the bowl of Buddha.
2 The noble elephant Chaddanta.
- *a* Chaddanta, King of the elephants, sporting in the lake.
- *b* The hunter shoots Chaddanta from his hiding place.
- *c* Cutting the tusks of Chaddanta.
- *d* The hunter carries off the tusks.

1

d

b

c

a

2

PLATE XXVII.

THIRD PERIOD, CROSS-BARS.

1 Suddhodana visits Maya in the Asoka grove.

2 The story of prince Somanassa.

- *a* King Renu honours Maharakkhita and the other ascetics.
- *b* The prince observes the sham ascetic Dibbacakkhuka busy in the garden.
- *c* The king's servants go to kill the prince.

1

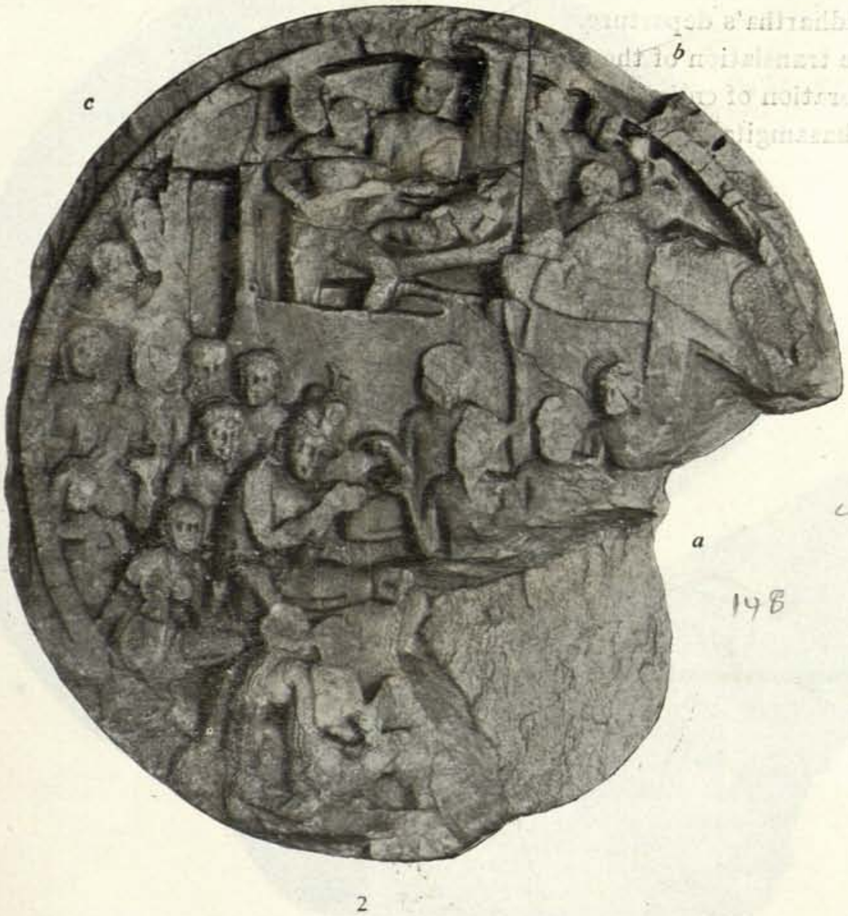


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PLATE XXVIII.

THIRD PERIOD, CROSS-BARS.

1 The story of Sarvamdada.
  - *a* The hunter demands the dove.
  - *b* Kapilapingala cuts the king's flesh.
  - *c* The king in the balance.

2 Scenes from Buddha's life.
  - *a* Siddhartha's departure.
  - *b* The translation of the Cuda.
  - *c* Adoration of enlightened Buddha.

3 Avarodhasamgitaka (music in a harem).

PLATE XXIX.

THIRD PERIOD, CROSS-BARS

1 The story of Vidhurapandita.
The game of dice.

2 The story of Vidhurapandita.
Vidhurapandita preaches to the Nagas.

3 Adoration of the stupa symbolizing Buddha's death.

4 The conversion of the Bhaddavaggiya youths.

3

4

1

2

PLATE XXX.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHTS.

1 Bodhisatta's descent as a white elephant.

2 The story of Bhuridatta—

a The prince as viceroy.

b The prince and the nagi.

2 *a* *b*

1

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PLATE XXXI.

Third Period, Uprights.

1 Rupananda learns of the impermanence of beauty.

2 Scenes from the story of Angulimala.

- *a* Ahimsaka waits respectfully on his teacher and his wife.
- *b* The teacher and his pupils including Ahimsaka.
- *c* Ahimsaka takes leave of his teacher promising the strange honorarium.

a b c

2

1

PLATE XXXII.

THIRD PERIOD. UPRIGHTS.

1 The peacock preaches the law.

a Queen Khema expresses her desire to hear the peacock preach the law.

a b The king consults his ministers and hunters.

c The king and queen listen to the peacock preaching the law.

2 Dwarf yakshas on back of 1.

3 Buddha preaches to his mother in heaven.

a Buddha preaching to Maya in the world of the Thirty-three.

b Moggallana and Anuruddha, the latter pointing with clasped hands to where Buddha preaches.

c Moggallana flies to the Master watched by the multitude.

3

a b c

2

1

a b c

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PLATE XXXIII.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHTS.

1 The story of Mandhata.
- *a* Prince Mandhata.
- *b* Emperor Mandhata and his precious jewels.
- *c* Mandhata overcomes all, the sages, nagas, etc.
- *d* Mandhata under the divine tree Parijata surrounded by gods and his own hosts.
- *e* Mandhata goes to Sudharma the hall of the gods.
- *f* Mandhata occupies half the throne of Sakka.

2 Dwarf yakshas on back of 1.

3 The lovesmitten king.
- *a* The king's men carry off the woman.
- *b* The woman points out the king's grave mistake.

3

2

1

PLATE XXXIV.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHTS.

1 The story of Udayana and his queens.

- *a* The snake put in the vina by Culla Magandiya and his niece.
- *b* Udayana notices the snake come out of the vina and takes up his bow in anger.
- *c* Samavati bows to the king free from any trace of anger.
- *d* The arrow returns to the king without hurting Samavati.

2 Adoration of the wheel on back of 1.

2

1

a b c
d

PLATE XXXV.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHTS.

1 The story of Udayana and his queens.
  - *a* Culla Magandiya and his niece discuss the plot.
  - *b* Magandiya relates her dream and requests the king not to go to Samavati.

2 Ajatasattu visits Buddha.
  - *a* Ajatasattu consults Jivaka and his ministers.
  - *b* Ajatasattu visits Buddha in the Bamboo grove.
  - *c* A monkey offers honey to Buddha.

2

c *a* *b*

1

b *a*

PLATE XXXVI.

THIRD PERIOD. UPRIGHTS.

1 The snake charmer and his monkey.

2 Women adoring Buddha suggested by throne and feet.

2

1

PLATE XXXVII.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHTS.

1 Unidentified scenes on rail pillar.

✓ 2 The king who chopped his son into bits.

✓ *a* Queen Canda faints at the approach of the messenger.

✓ *b* The Queen's attendants take the child away.

✓ *c* The wicked king fetches the child from the attendants who try to protect him.

✓ *d* The good executioner goes under for refusing to kill the child.

✓ *e* The bad executioner ready with his axe.

3 First sermon in Deer Park and adoration of Buddha by devas.

1

2

3

PLATE XXXVIII.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHTS.

1 The conversion of Yasa and his friends.
- *a* Yasa approaches Buddha and is converted.
- *b* Yasa's father bows to Buddha.
- *c* Yasa's companions adore Buddha.

2 Buddha performs a miracle.
- *a* Divine beings proceeding to witness the miracle.
- *b* Buddha under the mango tree adored by devotees including Royalty.
- *c* Buddha in the air, flames issuing from his body; devotees adore him.

c b a

c b a

PLATE XXXIX.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHTS.

1 Bodhi tree adored by elephants.

2 Stupa adored by devotees.

Adoration of Stupa

PLATE XL.

THIRD PERIOD, UPRIGHT AND COPING.

1 Central lotus medallion of rail.
2 The story of Angulimala.

2

1

PLATE XLI.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Birth of Rahula and other scenes from Buddha's life.

- *a* Birth of Rahula.
- *b* Departure of Siddhartha.
- *c* The first Sermon.
- *d* Princess Yasodhara accustomed to royal luxuries.
- *e* Yasodhara discarding royal luxuries and following her husband's mode of life.
- *f* Yasodhara refusing to go to her paternal home.
- *g* Suddhodana sends a messenger to Buddha inviting him to Kapilavastu.
- *h* Suddhodana sends another and other messengers.
- *i* Buddha arrives at Kapilavastu and is adored by the Sakyas in the Nigrodha grove.

2 Back of 1 showing garland and bearers.

1

2

PLATE XLII.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 The temptation of Buddha and his enlightenment.
- *a* Mara resolves to defend his position.
- *b* Mara proceeds from his city in a palanquin followed by his hosts.
- *c* Mara reaches his destination.
- *d* Mara attacks Buddha.
- *e* Buddha's enlightenment.

2 Back of 1 showing garland and bearers.

a b c

1

d e

2

PLATE XLIII.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Division of Buddha's relics.
- *a* Musical and dance festivities.
- *b* Consultation.
- *c* Division of relics by Dona.
- *d* Relics carried on elephants by the recipients.

2 Back of 1 showing garland, bearers and dwarf yaksha Titan.

1

2

PLATE XLIV.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 & 2 The story of Vidhurapandita.

a The nagaraja, garuda, Sakka and Korabba take leave of Vidhura.
b The nagi Irandati and yaksha Punnaka.
c Punnaka speeding beyond Vepulla mountain.
d Vidhura's leave-taking at Korabba's court.
e Punnaka returning with Vidhura holding to the horse's tail.
f the same scene continued.
g Punnaka's attempts on the life of Vidhura to obtain his heart.
h Vidhura teaches the law to Punnaka.
i The nagaraja adores Vidhura brought by Punnaka.

1

a *b* *c*

i *h* *g*

2

d *e*

f

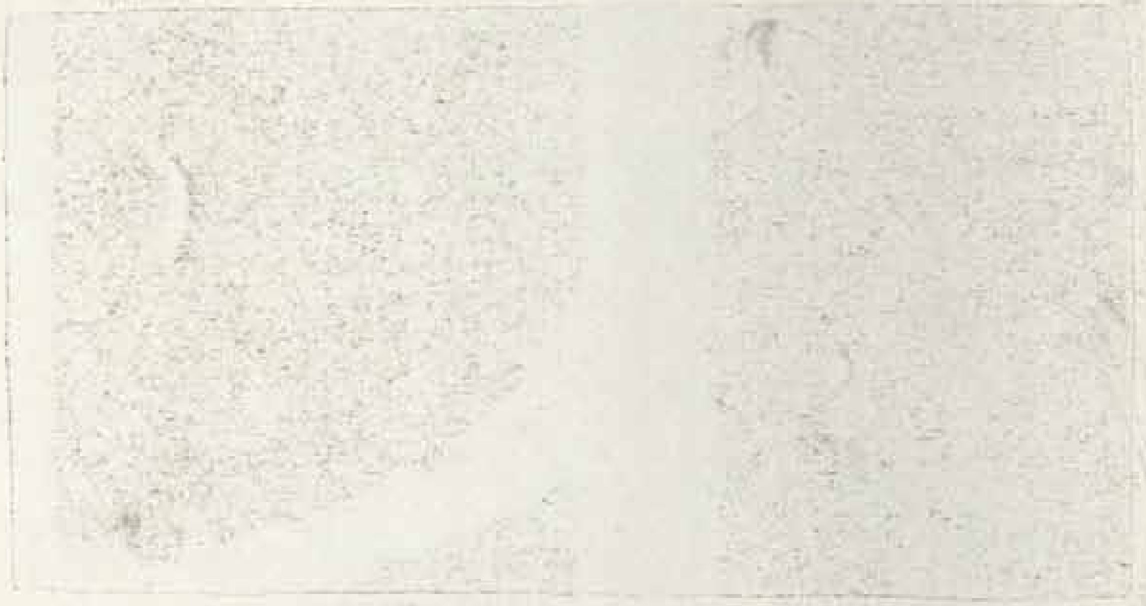


PLATE XLV.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Back of Pl. xliv showing garland carried by bearers.
2 & 3 Back of coping fragments showing flower garland carried by bearers.

1

3

2

PLATE XLVI.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Sakka gains a nymph.

a The four gods fight for the nymph.

b Sakka and the nymph.

2 The story of Mittavindaka the unfortunate one.

a Mittavindaka, his wife and new born babes.

b Mittavindaka's family; the children are now older.

c The king's men come to punish the villagers.

d The village tank gets dried up.

2

1

PLATE XLVII.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Buddha performs a miracle.

a Buddha under the miraculous mango tree.

b Buddha all aflame in the air.

2 Unidentified scene.

1

a *b*

2

PLATE XLVIII.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Unidentified scene.

2 The story of Kavikumara.

a The king's men pursue prince Kavikumara.

b The washerman hides the prince in a bundle of clothes.

c Let out of the bundle, the prince still runs on.

d The potters leave the prince under the pretext of a corpse.

1

a

b c d

2

PLATE XLIX.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 The story of Sumana, the gardener.
   - *a* Buddha proceeding from Veluvana.
   - *b* Arched gateway of flowers over Buddha who is adored by the gardener and others.
   - *c* King Bimbisara approaches Buddha.
   - *d* Monks seated in the palace court.
   - *e* The gardener reverentially answering the king's queries.

2 The story of prince Padumakumara.
   - *a* The nagaraja and his consort looking up to rescue prince Padumakumara.
   - *b* The forest ranger observes prince Paduma adored by the nagaraja and his consort.

1

e

a

b

d

Above adoration of Stupa

b

a

2

PLATE L.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Ajatasattu visits Buddha.

a Ajatasattu and his harem go on elephants to Veluvana to see Buddha.

b Ajatasattu, Jivaka and the King's harem adore Buddha.

2 *a* and *b* The dream of Maya and its interpretation.

garland gallery wall

1

a *b*

a *b*

2

72 near black pillar main passage

PLATE LI.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 The elephant Mahilamukha is taught virtue.

  a The king in his court with the Bodhisatta.

  b The elephant listens to the wicked talk of burglars.

  c The elephant listens to the pleasant talk of good men.

2 Back of 1 showing garland thrust into yaksha's mouth.

1

2

PLATE LII.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 The story of Matanga.

a Ditthamangalika carries Matanga to his house.

b Matanga comforts Ditthamangalika.

c Matanga soars over the city.

2 The story of the messenger.

The messenger from Lust and the Belly humbly addresses the king by whom he is reassured.

1

c *b* *a*

2

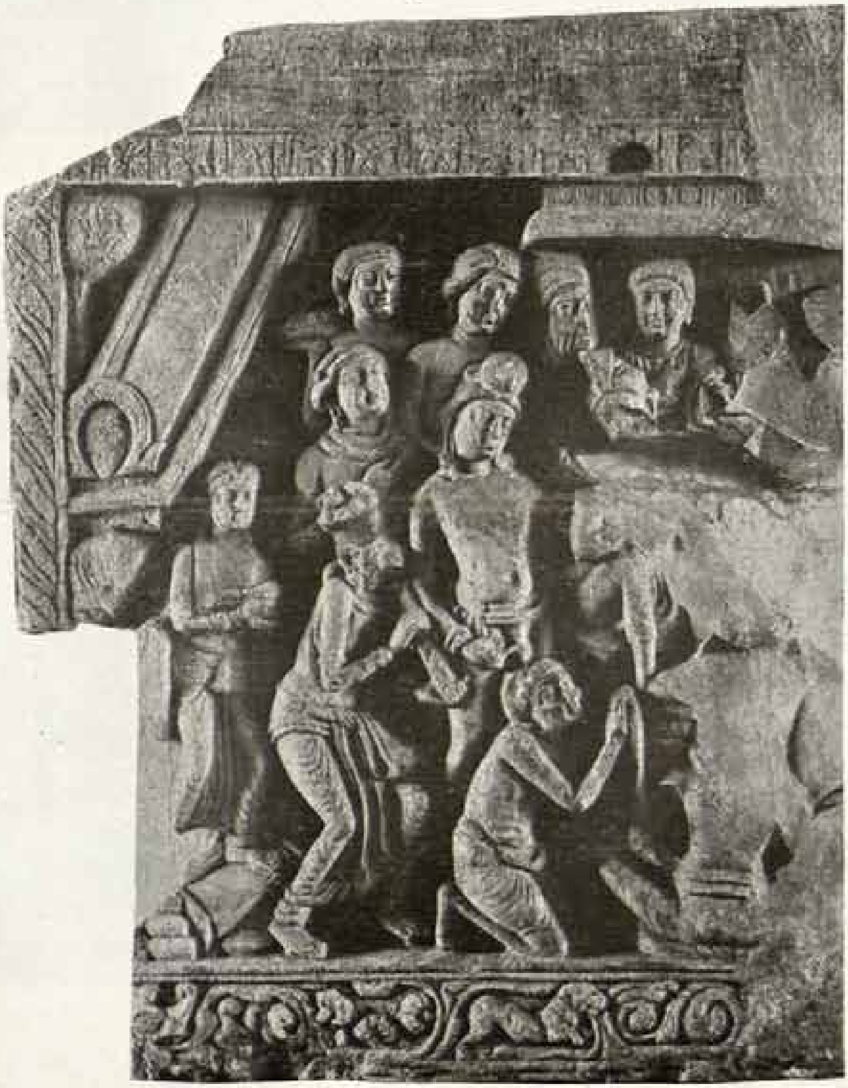


PLATE LIII.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Pasenadi entertains Buddha's monks.
2 Back of 1 showing dwarf yaksha on makara

2

1

PLATE LIV.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Cullakala's wives regain their husband.

a Cullakala requests his brother Mahakala not to renounce the world.

b Cullakala's wives regain their husband.

c Yakshi on Makara.

2 Back of 1 showing garland and bearers.

1

a

b

c

2

PLATE LV.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1, 2 The story of prince Mahapanada.

a Sakka offers a child to Suruci's wives.

b Sumedha learns of the offer and requests it of Sakka.

c A Pacceka Buddha offered food in a hut of rushes by the Nalakara, his wife and son.

d A son is born to king Suruci.

e Suruci and Sumedha in consultation regarding the sprinkling ceremony of their son.

f Vissakamma creates a palace for the prince.

g The prince bathing in ceremonial water.

h The prince and his new wife.

i The tumblers and dancers.

3 Back of 2 showing flower garland.

1

c d e

a b

f g

h i

2

3

PLATE LVI

THIRD PERIOD, COPING.

1 Battle scene.

2 Back of 1 showing garland issuing from makara's mouth and bearers supporting it.

1

2

PLATE LVII.

THIRD PERIOD, COPING AND FRAGMENTS.

1 Mara's attack on Buddha.

2 Yaksha with garland issuing from his mouth.

3 The story of Ghoshaka.

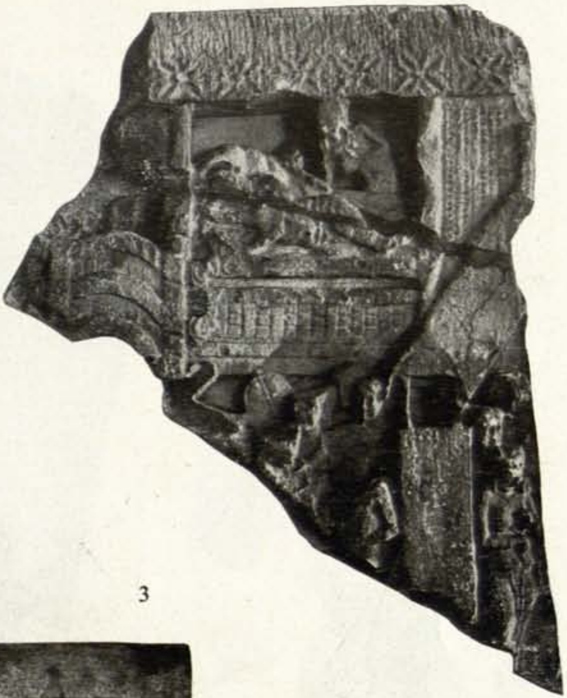
- *a* The treasurer's daughter approaches Ghoshaka asleep on a couch.
- *b* The superintendent of the villages conducting the treasurer's daughter to the newly built house of Ghoshaka.

✓ 4 Conversion of Nanda.

- *a* Nanda and his wife.
- *b* Buddha and the discontented monk Nanda.

a *b*

4



a *b*

3

2

1

PLATE LVIII.

THIRD PERIOD, LIONS AND FRAGMENTS.

1 & 2 Lions, guardians of the gateway.

3 Unidentified fragment.

4 Mara obstructs Pacceka Buddha's feeding.

a The Bodhisatta overcomes Mara's obstacle.

b The Bodhisatta and his wife feed the Pacceka Buddha.

5 ? Siddhartha's departure.

1

5

2

bull. near departure of Siddhartha

a *b*

4

3

PLATE LIX.

FOURTH PERIOD, STUPA SLAB AND FRIEZE.

1 Scenes from Buddha's life.

a Deities adoring the ? turban of Siddhartha.

b Buddha adored by nagas.

c Prince Siddhartha lives in three pleasant palaces carefully guarded from the ills of life.

d Mithuna drinking wine.

e Siddhartha pondering over the pleasures of life he is enjoying.

f Siddhartha and attendant.

2 Caitya slab showing stupa.

f *e* *d* *c* *b* *a*

1

2

PLATE LX.

FOURTH PERIOD, STUPA SLAB.

1 The temptation of Buddha.

2 Sujata feeds Buddha.

1

2

PLATE LXI.

Fourth Period.

1 Ramagrama stupa guarded by snakes.

2 Yakshi adorning herself under the celestial tree.

2

1

PLATE LXII.

Fourth Period Frieze.

1 Conversion of Nanda.

a Nanda going away from his wife after Buddha.

b Nanda the unwilling monk dreaming of married life.

c Buddha and Nanda on their way to the celestial garden observe a monkey on a burnt tree stump.

d Nymphs in the celestial garden shown to Nanda.

2 Rahula asks his inheritance.

1

d c b a

Well shown Departure of Siddhartha

2

PLATE LXIII.

FOURTH PERIOD.

1 Stele showing four principal scenes from Buddha's life.

a The departure of Siddhartha from Kapilavastu.

b The temptation.

c First sermon.

d Parinirvana.

2 The conversion of Nanda.

a Nanda and his beautiful wife within the palace at their toilet.

b Buddha at the palace gate ; Nanda carries Buddha's bowl.

c Nanda, made a monk by Buddha against his will, pines for his wife.

d Sakka's heaven.

3 Pillar surmounted by wheel.

4 Scenes from Buddha's life.

a Siddhartha renounces the world.

b Sujata feeds Buddha.

c Mara claims the seat of Buddha.

5 The story of Vessantara.

a The prince presents the elephant.

b Complaint of the people about the gift of the elephant by Vessantara.

c Presentation of the cart and bulls.

d Vessantara, Maddi and their children proceed to their forest home.

1 2 3

d

c

b

a

d

c

a b b

c a

PLATE LXIV.

FOURTH PERIOD.

1 Three scenes from Buddha's life.
  a Siddhartha gives away his jewels to Channa.
  b The first sermon.
  c Buddha adored by disciples.
2 Buddhas.
3 Maya's dream and its interpretation.
4 Slab with outline drawing incised on it before carving.

Sculpture — India
& South India

Central Archaeological Library New Delhi

4

3

2

1

c b a

PLATE LXV.

Inscriptions.

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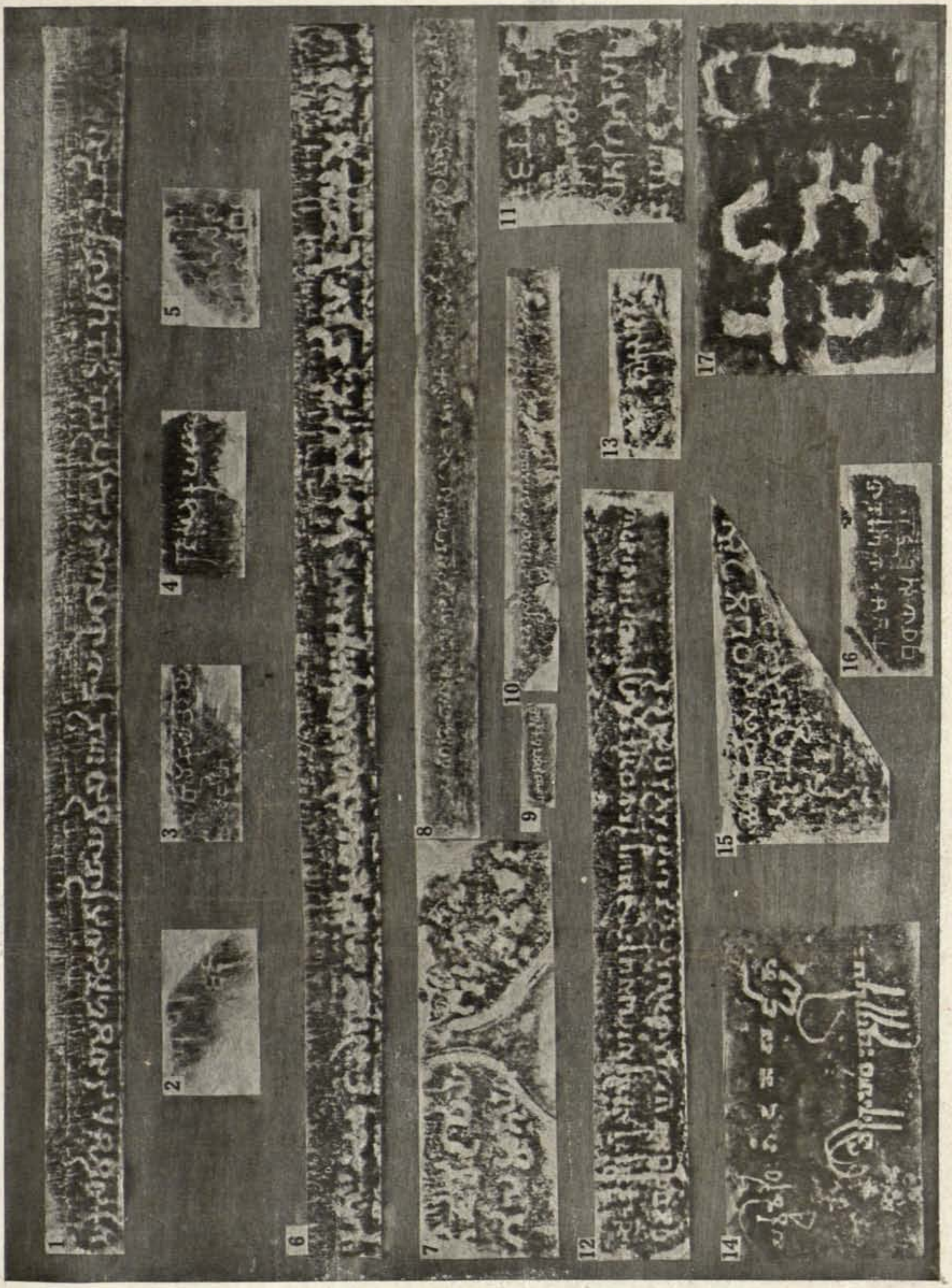

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